NEGOTIATING IDENTITIES AND 'SENSE OF PLACE' IN A WORLD HERITAGE CITY: THE CASE OF GEORGE TOWN, PENANG, MALAYSIA.

by

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ABSTRACT

World Heritage designation which focuses on buildings and monuments frequently belies the complexities of human interaction with these structures and how this interaction changes over time. This study examines the interplay between local communities and the spaces and structures of the World Heritage Site of George Town, Malaysia. In the city of George Town, inscribed on the World Heritage List in part, for its tangible multicultural heritage and in recognition of its intangible heritage, I conducted work that problematised the relationships between its local communities and the postcolonial heritages they inhabit. Using grounded theory and employing observational work and semi-structured interviews, I explored how local communities construct and negotiate their own spaces and 'sense of place' within, but often disconnected from, the larger codified framework of the city's 'official' heritage designation. Through various interpretative 'frames' I show how identities are forged more through intangible practices and traditions than through tangible heritage markers. I also determine how the multicultural communities within the World Heritage Site are caught up in power struggles at various levels, which reflect back on the ways in which they seek to claim and use their own senses of place.

‘For indeed, with hardship [will be] ease.

Indeed, with hardship [will be] ease.’

(Al Quran, Surah Ash-Sharh : 5-6)

To my parents, my husband and my three kids.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AHD	Authorised Heritage Discourse
BN	Barisan Nasional
CHEP	Cultural Heritage Education Programme
DAP	Democratic Action Party
GTCDC	George Town Conservation and Development Corporation
GTGP	George Town Grants Programme
GTHA	George Town Heritage Action
GTWHI	George Town World Heritage Incorporated
ICOMOS	International Council on Monuments and Sites
JPBD	Jabatan Perancangan Bandar dan Desa (Town and Country Planning Department)
JPNPP	Jabatan Pendidikan Negeri Pulau Pinang (Penang State Education Department)
JWN	Jabatan Warisan Negara (Department of National Heritage)
LTHA	Living Treasure Heritage Award
MAINPP	Majlis Agama Islam Negeri Pulau Pinang (Penang Islamic Religious Council)
MBPP	Majlis Bandaraya Pulau Pinang (Penang Island City Council)
MoE	Ministry of Education
MoTAC	Ministry of Tourism and Culture
MPPP	Majlis Perbandaran Pulau Pinang (Municipal Council of Penang Island)
NEP	National Economic Policy
NHA 2005	National Heritage Act 2005 (Act 645)
OUV	Outstanding Universal Value
PAPA	Penang Apprenticeship Programme for Artisan
PDC	Penang Development Corporation
PGT	Penang Global Tourism
PHT	Penang Heritage Trust
PTGA	Penang Travel Guide Association

Rela	Jabatan Sukarelawan Malaysia or People's Volunteer Corps
SAP	Special Area Plan
SPC	State Planning Committee
TCPA	Town and Country Planning Act 1976 (Act 172)
TRP	Technical Review Panel
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
WHC	World Heritage Convention
WH	World Heritage
WHS	World Heritage Site
1972 Convention	1972 Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage
2003 Convention	2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage

GLOSSARY OF TERMS

Adzan	call for prayer for the Muslims
Attap	thatched roof material
Baba-Nyonya	straits-born Chinese who are descendants of Chinese immigrants
Banghra	Punjabi music and dance usually performed by beating large drum.
Bumiputera	son of the soil
Chingay parade	street parade in celebration of Chinese festivals or state function where performers balancing giant flag poles
Clan house	a Chinese association for people from the same dialect group or those who originated from the same area in China; also known as Kongsi
Feng shui	Chinese geomancy
Five-foot way	also known as covered verandahway
Godown	warehouse
Hajj	Muslim's annual pilgrimage to Mecca
Haram	forbidden under Islamic la
Isya'	night-time prayer
Jalan/Lebuh	a local Malay term for street
Jawi Peranakan	Straits-born Muslims of mixed Indian and Malay ancestry who have adapted into Malay culture
Jian nian	a Chinese term for the cut and paste technique for roof ornamentations
Joss stick	a thin stick used as incense
Kahwin	a local Malay term for get married
Kapitan	Captain or leader of the ethnic group
Ketayap	short skull-cap
Kompang	a Malay traditional musical instrument used for social functions and special occasion
Kongsi	see Clan House
Kumbhabhishekam	a ritual practice to consecrate or re-consecrate a Hindu temple

Maghrib	dusk or after sunset prayer
Mamak	refers to Indian Muslims
Maulud Nabi	celebration of Prophet Muhammad's birthday
Nasi kandar	steamed rice with curry dishes and side dishes
Nasi minyak	ghee rice
Navarathiri	a festival devoted for Hindu goddess, Durga which is celebrated for nine continuous nights
Ottu kadai	small Indian sundry shop which is lean-to a proper shop
Penghulu	Head men
Penangite	Resident of Penang
Phor Tor	the Hungry Ghost festival
Qariah	group of the neighbourhood
Songkok	headgear
Shafie Mazhab	one of the four schools of Sunni Islamic law
Sharbat	a sweet and flavoured drink
Shophouse	a terraced house of two or three storeys high- traditionally at ground floor houses a shop and first floor is residential space.
Townhouse	two storey residential house
Tudung	head scarf
Wayang	Chinese opera performance and live concert
Waqf	endowment of properties under Islamic law normally for charity and religious purposes
Zuhur	noontime prayer for Muslims

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Background of Study

Cultural heritage has become a valuable asset for many countries due to its benefits in encouraging tourism, improving the economy and its contribution to cultural identity. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) defined the term cultural heritage in the 1972 Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (hereafter referred to as the 1972 Convention). The 1972 Convention focuses on the tangible aspects of cultural heritage, for example, monuments, buildings, sites and other physical objects (UNESCO, 1972). Meanwhile, the intangible cultural heritage as defined in the 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (hereafter referred to as the 2003 Convention) relates to the non-physical aspects of heritage, for example, rituals, practices, skills, and representations (UNESCO, 2003).

Since late 20th century, there has been a shift in the implementation of the World Heritage Convention (hereafter known as WHC) from alignment with the tangible heritage to more focus on the intangible. Awareness of the value of the intangible heritage has developed due to a need to reassess the advantages of modernity, concerns on the impact of globalisation, and the need to look for a smaller-scale local identity (Deacon *et al.*, 2004). In part, the intangible heritage came into focus as a reaction to the Western domination in the World Heritage List, and as a way of tipping the scales in favour of other perceptions of heritage. In 1989, UNESCO's Recommendation on

Safeguarding Traditional Culture and Folklore had stressed the importance of the intangible heritage especially the folklore; however, there was inadequate consideration of the community, and there were no binding elements for the member states (Blake, 2008). In the mid-1990s, the Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention (hereafter referred to as Operational Guidelines) had stressed the importance of the involvement of the local community in the preparation of the nomination dossier 'to make them feel a shared responsibility with the State Party in the maintenance of the site' (UNESCO, 1994: Article 14).

Meanwhile, the Budapest Declaration on World Heritage (UNESCO, 2002: Article 3f) recommended 'active involvement of our local communities at all levels in the identification, protection and management of our World Heritage properties'. The declaration became an instrument to support the 1972 Convention even though it only covers heritage that was inscribed as having OUV. The adoption of 2003 Convention is proof that UNESCO acknowledged there is more to heritage than those aspects valued by the experts – the importance of the intangible heritage and the involvement of local communities in determining the value of cultural heritage. The participation of local communities provides a valuable contribution to the management process, and their perspectives on the value of heritage enhances the strength of the site.

Later, in the 31st session of World Heritage Committee, the fifth 'C' for Communities has been declared in addition to the four 'Cs' – Credibility, Conservation, Capacity-building and Communication in the WHC Strategic Objectives. The decision express the importance 'to enhance the role of communities in the implementation of the World

Heritage Convention' (UNESCO, 2007: 193). The latest Operational Guidelines states 'Participation in the nomination process of local communities, indigenous peoples, governmental, non-governmental and private organizations and other stakeholders is essential to enable them to have a shared responsibility with the State Party in the maintenance of the property' (UNESCO, 2017: Article 123). The inclusion of local communities in determining cultural heritage values is widely accepted, but the extent of their involvement in the preparation of a nomination dossier and management of a WHS raises a big question. The 2011 Recommendation on Historic Urban Landscape (hereafter referred to as HUL) acknowledges the meaning and values local communities place on their cultural heritage, without disregarding the values ascribed by the experts. In his summary on documents related to community in the WHC, Brumann (2015: 276) contends that 'World Heritage properties, aside from being globally significant heritage sites, are also community spaces'. His statement supports the belief that the local community is important in the management of the properties and the relation of heritage to the concept of space and place.

In this introductory chapter, I will outline the issues that justify the need for this research. Following this, the research aim and research objectives are presented. I will then introduce brief information on the overall research methodology, short descriptions on the context of the study and provide an outline of the structure of the study at the end of this chapter.

1.1 Rationale of the Study

In 2012, the 40th session of the World Heritage Committee adopted the Kyoto Vision to acknowledge the challenges faced by WHS all around the world, for example, pressure from development, demographic changes and climatic change. The document also expresses the importance of the role of the community, and the need to consider the 'evolving character of cultural and social contexts relevant to World Heritage, which will inevitably lead to the emergence of new groups of interest and concerns' (UNESCO, 2012: 4). This study focuses on the interplay between local communities and cultural heritage values at George Town World Heritage Site (hereafter referred to as George Town WHS), a former free trade port which has attracted migrants from various parts of the world, such as India, China, and the northern region of Sumatra. George Town WHS holds a reputation as a 'melting pot', where various cultures, identities, religions, and practices have long coexisted. As one of Malaysia's most diverse and cosmopolitan cities, it has a unique character with layers of history and heritage from the colonial period that have survived until today.

Three issues are related to this study: lack of understanding on the relationship between tangible and intangible heritage values, the need to understand the way local communities give meanings and values to the cultural heritage at the WHS, and insufficient research to explain the complexity of space in the World Heritage (hereafter referred to as WH) city.

1.1.1 Lack of understanding on the relationship between tangible and intangible heritage values

The separation of definitions between the terms tangible heritage and intangible heritage in both the 1972 Convention and the 2003 Convention has created a dualism (Kenny, 2009). The 1972 Convention concentrates on tangible heritage, meanwhile, the 2003 Convention refers the intangible cultural heritage as 'the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage' (UNESCO, 2003: Article 2.1). Kurin (2004) argues the dualism happened as the 2003 Convention did not differentiate the definition of intangible heritage from the tangible heritage. Being codified in major international conventions, the trend looks set to continue in the future and influences decisions concerning safeguarding and conservation of the cultural heritage.

Concern about the deficiencies in cultural heritage studies, especially on the complicated relationship between the tangible and intangible cultural heritage, is apparent in the literature. Previous researchers found that there is a relationship between the tangible heritage and intangible heritage (Bouchenaki, 2003; Ito, 2003; Munjeri, 2004; Kenny, 2009; Smith and Akagawa, 2009; Harrison and Rose, 2010; Rudolff, 2010; Swensen *et al.*, 2013; Taha, 2014b). However, the researchers provided only general discussion on the relationship, and the descriptions are isolated and lacking in details. Another concern is on the protection of the tangible and intangible heritage. Many parties, for example, planners, architects, conservators, historians and local councils have expressed their interest in the future of the cultural heritage, however, in

reality, the protection of the two cultural heritage elements continue to be separated (Taha 2014a). Therefore, there is a need to understand the relationship between the tangible and intangible heritage in a more detailed manner, and how does the relationship between these two aspects affect their values.

1.1.2 The need to understand the way local communities give meanings and values to the cultural heritage at the WHS

The perceived value of the cultural heritage – be it tangible or intangible – informs decisions on cultural heritage management, and it determines present practices and the preservation of heritage assets (Avrami, Mason and Torre, 2000). More than decades past, many studies researching cultural heritage values have referred to value typologies. Scholars (Riegl, 1902; Lipe, 1984; Frey, 1997) and charters (ICOMOS 2013 Burra Charter; ICOMOS 2010 Charter for the Conservation of Places of Cultural Heritage Value) have devised various heritage value typologies to represent a summary of the overall value of the cultural heritage. However, value typologies are seen as inadequate in the judgement of heritage value, as this method does not grasp the whole appreciation of heritage and its values (Fredheim and Khalaf, 2016). The valuation schemes are rigid, despite the fact that values change over time. The typologies are also not a sufficient point of departure for understanding the heritage values, and they do not take into account all the cultural heritage elements that shape the place.

The discussion of values, especially regarding their assessment, has always been difficult and contested, as values are expressed through the meanings and merits given by people on the site or in practice (Munjeri, 2004). It creates conflicts, as there are

differences in interpretations, opinions, yardsticks and approaches in valuing the cultural heritage (de la Torre and Mason, 2002; Ateca-Amestoy, 2011). Further, traditionally the value of heritage has been determined by the experts in the field. As Smith (2006) has argued, Authorised Heritage Discourse (AHD) refers to those who have the power to define and decide on what is heritage. AHD, however, omits the involvement of non-expert users of the site. Within AHD, people passively engage with heritage, instead of exploring and enjoying the experience actively. The experts are also more concerned about the tangible aspects of heritage rather than the intangible ones. Moreover, by acknowledging experts as the dominant group and the custodians of heritage, AHD is thus implementing top-down management of the heritage sites.

In view of the emerging interest in the involvement of the local community in a WHS, there is a concern on the level of involvement of the local community. Brumaan (2015) states that there are two different opinions on the involvement of the local community at a WHS. The first one relates to the way the local community contributes to the OUV and in giving meanings to the site, while another opinion associates the local community with negative activities, for example overdevelopment that could harm the site. Meanwhile, Jokilehto (2017) expresses concerns with the level of community involvement, which is usually not up to the decision-making process. To him, heritage comes from the communities, but some communities are being isolated from the management of WH site. One common tendency exhibited in the management of a WHS is the exclusion of the local community in determining the value of the site. In the Archaeological Sites of the Island of Meroe in Sudan, the task of determining additional

values of the site, for example unique features of Meroitic architecture, was still undertaken by the experts (Fahmi, Ahmad and Hashim, 2018).

There is a concern whether the local values complement with the values ascribed by the officials, or whether the local values differ from the official perspectives. In their studies on the Historic Centre of Santa Ana de los Rios de Cuenca (Heras *et al.*, 2018) and medieval city of Ani (Apaydin, 2018), the authors found that the local communities identified different types of heritage values compared to the ones determined by the experts. The local values are also inclined towards the intangible heritage. According to de Merode, Smeets and Westrik (2004), it is very important to link the official and local values in order to achieve effective and holistic management for the WH site. Getting the local communities to value their heritage is important as they are the users of the site on a daily basis, and they are capable of widening the meaning of heritage.

The meanings and values of heritage by the local communities can be described in the 'sense of place' (Smith, 2006; Hawke, 2010; Apaydin, 2018). Previous researchers relate the cultural heritage to the notion of sense of place through its tangible and intangible elements (Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996; Smith, 2006). Heritage could also be associated with the sense of belonging, identity, and experience (Smith, 2006). Skounti (2009: 75) suggests that heritage is 'intimately linked to a territory, a locality and the community that occupies it'. Swensen *et al.* (2013) argue that it is the narrative that makes cultural heritage alive and existent, and Taha (2014a) believes that other considerations should include people's experience, memories and associations with places. Apaydin (2018) discovers that even though values and meanings change through

time, the relationship between the local communities and the site will continue as the local communities themselves are the ones who interact daily with the site.

The values ascribed to a WHS are claimed to be universal; however, I seek to understand people-place relationships by examining what the cultural heritage means for people occupying a place designated as a WHS. I also seek to understand whether the status of a WHS means anything to the local communities. To determine the ranges of possible values of the site, it is vital to understand how communities construct, occupy, interact with, and form attachments to place at a micro level.

1.1.3 Insufficient research that looks into the complexity of space at the WHS

The setting and context of a site are important in understanding the heritage values, and contribute to the management of a WHS. The 2005 Xi'an Declaration on the Conservation of the Setting of Heritage Structures, Sites and Areas acknowledges 'the contribution of setting to the significance of heritage monuments, sites and areas'. The Declaration defines the setting which includes the physical and non-physical aspects of the heritage such as cultural, social and economic aspects (ICOMOS, 2005: Article 1). Meanwhile, the 2011 Recommendation on Historic Urban Landscape points out the need to consider 'rapid and frequently uncontrolled development is transforming urban areas and their settings, which may cause fragmentation and deterioration to urban heritage with deep impacts on community values, throughout the world' (UNESCO, 2011: 1). Lucia and Franch (2017) assert that the local context has an influence on the management of tourism in the WHS. The socioeconomic (tourism-driven) and

institutional conditions (with or without the UNESCO brand) of the site affect the engagement of stakeholders in decision-making and decisions on the future of the WHS.

George Town, with its urban, multicultural and postcolonial context, is facing many challenges in serving the different missions, interests, preferences and ideas of the local communities of various backgrounds and identities. The nature of the urban context of the city also presents various challenges related to the management of cultural heritage values – for example redevelopment, mass tourism, traffic congestion and gentrification. The urban context of the WHS also gives rise to discussion over how cultural heritage values are negotiated. One of the challenges of the postcolonial societies is in terms of the way they represent themselves and negotiate with the new identities (Graham and Howard, 2008a; Marschall, 2008). According to Nalbantoglu and Wong (1997), postcolonial space refers to space which carries the memory of the colonial past. The space also has potentials to develop a new perspective of spatiality, due to its diverse nature. Therefore, it is important to understand the variety of spaces where local communities construct, interact, and negotiate in their daily life and with the challenges of its surrounding context. The multicultural identities and the diversity of culture also create different meanings of heritage in a place to multiple stakeholders (Waterton and Smith, 2008). Today, the challenge is for the multicultural communities to live together in shared spaces – negotiating and appropriating the space. Indeed, determining the identity for a multicultural place is challenging to address, as it also relates to the sense of place, affected by the past, and needs consideration of the present context and setting. More attention needs to be given to the relationship of heritage with the construction of identity, its power relations and other contextual issues (Harvey

2001). Hence, I sought to study the different ways local communities in George Town WHS negotiate with the cultural heritage values.

In summary, this section has justified the need to understand the relationship between the tangible and the intangible cultural heritage values, the need to understand the way local communities give meanings and values to the cultural heritage at the WHS, and the need to understand the complexity of space in the WH city. The following section describes the research aim and research objectives of the study.

1.2 Research Aim and Objectives

From the previous section, it can be seen that there is a need to explore how the multicultural and postcolonial communities in George Town respond to the notion of their city being inscribed as WH and what values the place has for them. Therefore, the research aim is to understand the relationships between the World Heritage designation of George Town, Malaysia and its local communities.

To achieve the aim of the study, three interrelated objectives will be pursued:

1. To examine the way intangible heritage values exist in George Town WHS and their relationship with the tangible heritage values.
2. To understand the nature of the local communities in George Town WHS and the way they are attached to the cultural heritage.
3. To explore the spatial variations of George Town WHS with its urban, postcolonial and multicultural context.

The first objective will examine the way intangible heritage exist in George Town WHS and how they relate to the tangible heritage. The study will explore the nature of the relationships between these two cultural heritage elements, and the importance of the intangible heritage. I will also explain how the relationship between the tangible and intangible heritage could contribute to the understanding of heritage values, which is vital in the management of the WHS.

The second objective will explain the nature of the local communities, which are also the stakeholders of George Town WHS. I will discuss the way cultural heritage provides various meanings and values to different communities, and compare it with the values ascribed by the experts. A sense of place could describe the attachment of local communities with the place including its tangible and intangible heritage.

Finally, the third objective will draw attention to the spatial variations of George Town WHS. The diverse nature of the Malaysian society warrants a re-examination of the cultural heritage value to embed contextual needs – being a site of postcolonial and multicultural context. I will identify how similar features of the place are viewed differently by the local communities and why certain types of heritage are held to be of greater importance compared to others. The way the local communities engage, communicate, contest, translate, negotiate and mediate the site will also be examined.

With the research aim in mind, the study is conducted to generate a more in-depth understanding of the relationship between the George Town WHS and its local communities, which is grounded from the perspective of both experts and non-experts

who are the stakeholders of the site. It will provide a new challenge that needs to be taken into account to have an integrated approach to managing a heritage site. I also seek to understand how the study fits within the wider relationships that local communities have with other places of similar contexts.

Consequently, the study seeks to contribute a new focus for increasing effectiveness in the management of the heritage site, by not only giving priority to the conservation of tangible heritage but also to the intangible heritage as well. The priority, I believe, will explain the relationship more pragmatically and sensibly. This too, in turn, will provide a valuable conservation and management plan, and influence the survival of the heritage site in the future. The implications raised from this study will further assist government policies, regulations and guidelines related to the management of heritage sites, increase the involvement of the community in valuing their heritage and in managing the site, and provide better considerations on the multiple yet conflicting values of heritage at the site.

1.3 Overall Research Methodology

A grounded theory methodology employing observational work and semi-structured interviews was adopted due to its strength in understanding social phenomena including attitudes towards cultural heritage values. Grounded theory was also used due to the nonexistence or limited existing knowledge on the phenomena of study (Creswell, 2009). The methodology adopted for the study will be discussed in detail in Chapter 4, with detailed explanations of specific approaches, research methods and techniques. Data collection techniques also involved the use of sources such as grey literature,

tourist brochures, artworks related to the site of study, archival documents, policy documents and reports relating to the site, social media accounts and old maps. The participants involved in this study are local communities of the site, including the local residents, local authorities, managers of the site, traders and non-governmental organisations.

1.4 The Context of the Study

Heritage conservation in Malaysia is still very much in its infancy; however, awareness of the importance of cultural heritage values is increasing. The establishment of the National Heritage Act 2005 (NHA 2005 or Act 645) and the National Heritage Department of Malaysia in the year 2006 showed the commitment of the government of Malaysia in taking care of the heritage assets, be it intangible or intangible ones. Cultural heritage in Malaysia is a particularly debatable issue, as it relates to the history of colonial power, the diversity of culture in the multicultural society, and the increasing awareness of the importance of the cultural heritage, especially in the civil society. In Penang itself, there are some glaring issues and challenges at the site of study, such as managing a large area, displacement and loss of residential population in the WHS, mass tourism, gentrification, dilapidated buildings and vacant premises and the absence of an effective monitoring system as well as funding (Town and Country Planning Department Pulau Pinang, 2016). Currently, there is also deep concern that the intangible heritage is given less priority in terms of the management of site.

George Town WHS is one of the Historic Cities of the Straits of Malacca (the other one is Melaka) jointly inscribed by the UNESCO as a WHS on 7 July 2008. George Town

possesses three outstanding universal values according to UNESCO. Criterion II describes George Town as an ‘exceptional example of multicultural trading towns in East and Southeast Asia’. Criterion III indicates it is a ‘living testimony to the multicultural heritage and tradition of Asia and European colonial influences’. Criterion IV states it reflects ‘a mixture of influences which have created a unique architecture, culture and townscape without parallel anywhere in East and South Asia’ (UNESCO, 2008b). From its early days through its British colonial period, Penang was always known as a place where multiculturalism is accepted and practised. Once a free trade port, it has attracted migrants from various parts of the world, such as India, China, and the northern region of Sumatra, all of which are of different cultural backgrounds. I have specifically selected an area known as the ‘Street of Harmony’ which is located in the core zone of the WHS as a focus of the study. Jalan Masjid Kapitan Keling, or previously known as Pitt Street is one of the first streets that Sir Francis Light established in the trading settlement upon arriving at Penang Island in the year 1786. The street consists of a mixture of religious buildings and activities related to different cultures and faiths. In front of the religious buildings are rows of shophouses and townhouses with residential and commercial activities taking place.

The special interest on George Town WHS is based on the facts that the site is rich with tangible heritage, with noteworthy examples of unique architecture especially the places of worship, shophouses and townhouses. The architecture is adapted to make optimum use of available building materials and the skills of local artisans, and is appropriate to the tropical climate, providing a rich mixture of the urban fabric. The site demonstrates the diversity of the intangible heritage, which is represented through the cultural

practices, representations, and expressions within the postcolonial and multicultural societies in George Town. It also known as a site that expresssed the concept of harmony, religious pluralism and the diversity of culture of the multicultural society in Penang.

1.5 Outline of Thesis

The thesis contains seven chapters with the following contents:

Chapter 1 is an Introduction chapter providing the background of the study. The chapter has stated the need of the study, the research aim and objectives of the study, presented a brief explanation of the research methodology and introduced the context of the study.

Chapter 2 presents the Literature Review of the study. This chapter outlines the theoretical framework for addressing the aim of the study. It includes discussion on the contested terms of heritage and cultural heritage, and the manifestation and the problematic descriptions of the relationship of the tangible and intangible heritage. This chapter also discusses the manifold relationships between cultural heritage and the concept of space and place. As the context of the study is very complex due to its urban, postcolonial, and multicultural context, this chapter also discusses the ideas of embodiment, identity, hybridity, framing and power relations.

Chapter 3 introduces the context for this study, George Town WHS in Penang, Malaysia, which was designated as a World Heritage Site by UNESCO in 2008. The chapter starts with general information about the site, the demographic and socioeconomic aspects, urban morphology and the history of George Town. I then

describe the journey of George Town in obtaining WH status, the criteria of the outstanding universal values as identified at the time of inscription, the tangible and intangible heritage of the site, and the conservation movement in Penang as well as the management approach undertaken. Finally, the chapter locates the specific area of the study, which is the 'Street of Harmony'.

Following this, Chapter 4 engages with the research methodology that is applied in this study, which is grounded theory. The methodology is chosen based on its strength in providing a deeper understanding that explains the complex social phenomena and its potential to disclose a rich explanation on the relationships between the WH city and its local communities. I will also explain the selection of the case of study. The chapter then explains about the data collection techniques that include semi-structured interviews and observational works, the process of data collection, and approaches to data analysis.

Chapters 5 and 6 present the findings and the analysis. Chapter 5 discusses the first two themes that emerged from the study: the notion of space and place and the sense of place. The themes highlight how people locate the 'Street of Harmony' by its tangible and intangible elements. People also interpret place in various scales and make space through practices and embodiment of the site. The second theme concerns the attributes of the sense of place and how they provide deeper meanings and values to the site.

Chapter 6 continues to discuss two further themes that emerged from the study: the representation of identity and framing of the 'Street of Harmony'. Focusing on the

theme the representation of identity, I discuss how the ‘Street of Harmony’ is viewed as a thirdspace, which relates to the history of colonialism and also multiculturalism. The theme endeavours to show how place identities are, first, constructed and, secondly, represented. The final theme explains how space and place are being framed, to further understand the relationship between tangible and intangible heritage values. It will reveal the representation as well as the forms of power and how these are being mediated, which could affect the decision people make on the place.

Finally, Chapter 7 draw conclusions from the overall research findings in this study. It begins with a review of the research aim, research objectives, and the elucidation of the theoretical framework. Subsequent discussions include a research evaluation of the theoretical contributions of this study, implications for research and implications for practice.

1.6 Conclusion

This chapter provides the rationale for the study and the overview of the study, which was led by a research aim and objectives to generate a more in-depth understanding grounded from the fieldwork. A short description of the context of the study and the thesis outline has been presented in this chapter as a guide to the content and the flow of discussion in the following chapters. The study offers new perspectives on the way local communities negotiate identities and sense of place, by looking into a WH city – George Town, Penang, Malaysia.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

Drawing from research in various fields, including human and cultural geography, social and cultural anthropology, architecture, urban planning, philosophy and sociology, this chapter presents the theoretical framework that addresses the aim of the study, that is, to understand the relationship between the WH designation of George Town and its local communities. With the first objective in mind – to examine the way intangible heritage values exist in George Town WHS and their relationship with the tangible heritage values – I discuss the terms heritage and cultural heritage as contested concepts. The chapter then moves on to explore the manifestation and the isolated descriptions of the relationship between tangible and intangible heritage values.

Related to the second objective – to understand the nature of the local communities in George Town WHS and the way they are attached to the cultural heritage, the manifold relationship between cultural heritage and the concept of space and place will be examined. I work with heritage as a cultural process, and the interrelation between the physical and non-physical elements happens and exists in space and place. The concept of space and place are employed to examine how people make sense of experience, construct, perform, perceive, occupy, and embody the space. The discussion is also based on the concept of sense of place, to discuss the way cultural heritage provides different meanings and values to different communities. Attention is also focused on place and the theory of habitus, embodiment and framing.

The third research objective is to explore the spatial variations of George Town WHS with its urban, postcolonial and multicultural context which relates to the influence of the postcolonial context and multicultural identity in further understanding how a place is being negotiated and appropriated. Here, discussion centres on the concept of postcolonialism, the space as site of colonial encounters and postcolonial heritage. The study also seeks to understand multiculturalism, which is often understood as a product of colonialism, and explores the concept of thirdspace as a tool to explain the complexity of space. It links back to my context of study in George Town WHS, which provides a new perspective on the construction of identity and negotiation of space and place. This will explain the relationship more pragmatically and sensibly, thus tying the framework together.

2.1 Heritage as a Concept

Heritage appears as a conflicting, subjective and contradictory discourse, lacking a generally accepted definition due to conflicts relating to the meaning of heritage (Waterton and Smith, 2008; Smith, 2006). The concept of 'dissonant heritage' was introduced by Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996), as they believe that the past can be used both as a resource in solving present conflict conditions and also as subject of conflict. Smith (2006) agrees that dissonance happens when people interpret heritage differently, resulting in the inclusion and exclusion of the attributes that put a meaning to heritage. Therefore, rather than being fixed, heritage is something that can be questioned and argued, and which is subject to change and revision. Smith in her book 'Uses of Heritage' argues that 'there is, really, no such thing as heritage' (2006: 11). The statement is made based on her understanding that heritage is valued and negotiated

differently by different people with different perspectives, at a different place and time. The term heritage is widely referred to as a process (Harvey, 2001; Carman, 2002; Smith, 2006; Marschall, 2008; Robertson, 2012; Basu and Modest 2014). For instance, Smith argues that heritage is 'a process that continually creates and recreates a range of social relations, values and meanings about both the past and present' (2006: 42). Smith here refers to a social and cultural process, which is shaped by, for example, the religious beliefs, cultural activities, customs and values that people carry. Smith's argument relies on the non-physical aspects of heritage as the main contributors to the values and meanings of heritage.

On the other hand, Carman (2002) characterises heritage as an outcome of the process of categorising. The categorisation looks into characteristics, which results in the ascription of meaning to the heritage asset. Carman's idea of categorisation also involves different value judgements, based on the diverse interests and motivations of the people who hold authority and power, which may or may not include the community. Meanwhile, Robertson (2012: 150) considers 'heritage as spatial and temporal process'. Although people may not be able to bring the past to the present day, the memory could be represented in both physical and symbolic forms. Robertson notes that everyone holds different accounts and perspectives of the past; therefore, it affects the way people feel about heritage. Harvey (2001) highlights that it is important to understand the traces and path of heritage phenomena. What needs to be considered here is whose memory and valued cultural assets and practices may be chosen as heritage. Howard (2003) suggests that the process could be observed in a particular sequence, starting from the recognition or formation of cultural assets/practices, and

finally to their protection or even destruction.

The study of heritage often turns on the issue of possession and ownership (Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996; Lowenthal, 1998). Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996: 21) claim that 'all heritage is someone's heritage and therefore logically not someone else's'. Tunbridge and Ashworth's statement takes into account the idea of negotiating with the people involved on behalf of the disinherited, for heritage that needs to be championed or cultural assets that have been compromised, or obtaining the power to defend heritage. Heritage could also be understood as experience, which may result in the creation of memories and remembering, and it could be achieved through human actions. It is also reasonable to suggest that heritage and memory are inseparable (Urry, 1995; Smith, 2006; Byrne, 2009). People remember things as individuals or in a collective way, while selecting, negotiating and interpreting the experience (Urry, 1995; Smith, 2006). This echoes the argument that heritage is a performance, where people use physical activities to engage with sites. The rituals and cultural activities are repeatedly performed, and practice and action can sustain the knowledge of heritage from one generation to another (Smith, 2006). Connerton (1989) believes that performing activities derived from knowledge of the past could make people remember and preserve the past, provide continuity to the past, and show the value of culture.

Heritage may be seen through the lens of constructing identity and deals with the issue of representations, both in their physical and non-physical forms (McLean, 2006; Smith, 2006; Marschall, 2008). Bender (1993: 3) points to heritage as 'never inert, people engage with it, re-work it, appropriate it and contest it. It is part of the way identities are

created and disputed, whether as an individual, group or nation state'. Therefore, the concept of heritage emerging from experience, identity and process is also related to time, with reference to the past and what could be presented in the present. Heritage relates to place through its tangible and intangible aspects (Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996; Smith, 2006). Smith (2006) believes that heritage is closely linked to the sense of place, which could be associated with the sense of belonging, identity, and experience. Another aspect when relating heritage with a place is in the negotiating process, as place includes not only the physical and non-physical elements but also humans as the users of space. Skounti (2009: 75) suggests that heritage is 'intimately linked to a territory, a locality and the community that occupies it'. However, Harvey (2001) points out that the relationship of heritage with the construction of identity, its power relations and other contextual issues needs to be given more attention. The identity of heritage relates to several levels of representation, for example personal, national and global (Graham and Howard, 2008b). Harvey (2008: 33) believes that other than 'big heritage', there are 'small heritage' items, which normally are not officially recognised ones, but refer to the everyday life and performances of the community, and need to be taken care of as well. The 'big heritage' is normally controlled by official groups at national or international level but there is also a 'small heritage' which is very personal and at a local level.

Heritage is also related to history, as it is said to be a contemporary outcome of history (Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996; Lowenthal, 1998). Lowenthal (1998: 3) believes that 'Heritage is not our sole link with the past. History, tradition, memory, myth, and memoir variously join us with what has passed, with forebears, with our own earlier

selves'. Lowenthal claims that heritage could be defined in several ways. One is by relating heritage with history, but heritage is not as rigid as history and is subjected to bias. This means that to Lowenthal, heritage could accept and correct historical inaccuracy. The relationship of heritage with history is also supported by Park (2014) who believes that heritage is 'an essential creation and consumption of historical knowledge'.

Heritage also relates to power relations and is defined by people who hold power and authority, as reflected for example in the legislative protection of heritage and what is officially recognised as heritage. Hall (2007) points out that in countries which were once colonised, the past representation of heritage reflects the coloniser's perspective of what they believe is important. Byrne (2009: 230) argues that heritage involves a certain way of showing interest in the archaeological site or object – by raising them up and ascribing values. Here he suggests that the process of selection of heritage depends on people's perceptions. The selection may affect the survival of a place, where certain values can be selected and given attention to, and certain others can be side-lined or rejected. Another important concept that is related to power relations is the concept of the Authorised Heritage Discourse (AHD), introduced by Smith (2006), which refers to those who have the power to define and decide on what is heritage, based on 'the past'. AHD acknowledges experts as dominant definers and custodians of heritage, thus implementing top-down management of heritage sites. Within AHD, people are directed to engage with heritage in a passive way, instead of exploring and enjoying the experience actively. AHD lacks the involvement of non-expert users of the site and is more concerned with the physical aspects of heritage rather than the intangible ones.

Criticising AHD, Smith challenged the way heritage may be defined and experienced, arguing for a more interactive way, where heritage is more than just a display.

The above studies have discussed the complex concept of heritage, relating it to various phenomena and perspectives. One of the key contributions to this critical discursive perspective is the idea that heritage is not only produced through the social and cultural process but also political relations (Smith, 2006). The process of heritage concerns the involvement of people with different backgrounds, power relations, and negotiations to reach a working understanding of heritage assets and their context. It also considers the inclusion of the non-experts as part of the process of decision-making for conservation and management of heritage assets, which could enhance the value and meaning of heritage.

2.1.1 Cultural heritage values

As much as heritage, in general, is a contested term, the same situation exists around the discussion of cultural heritage values. The term cultural heritage as defined in the 1972 Convention relates very much to the tangible aspects of heritage, for example, monuments, buildings, and other physical objects. The importance of the intangible heritage was recognised at the end of the 20th century due to the need to reassess the advantages of modernity, concerns on the impact of globalisation, and the need to look for a smaller-scale local identity (Deacon *et al.*, 2004). In part, the intangible heritage came into focus as a reaction to the Western domination in the World Heritage List, as a way of weighing the scales in favour of other perceptions of heritage. Meanwhile, intangible heritage as defined in the 2003 Convention is difficult to interpret using

physical elements (Silva, 2008). Current definitions from UNESCO perspectives are more oriented towards official perspectives rather than the inclusion of communities. Kenny (2009) argues that the separation of definitions between tangible and intangible heritage in the 1972 and 2003 Conventions has accidentally created a dualism, while Swensen *et al.* (2013) believe that the division of terms is of no importance to most people. In trying to define cultural heritage, Deacon *et al.* (2004) believe that political influence has a significant impact at all levels, motivated by ambitions to protect a certain history and cultural forms, and by concerns for the disadvantages of globalisation and the protection of cultural diversity.

Another aspect of concerns is the need to have an integrated and comprehensive approach in determining the cultural heritage values of the site. Conway (2014) point out that many sites have different dimensions of heritage including the tangible/intangible and the public/private heritage. At his site of study, the local community takes ownership of the site and see themselves as the custodian of a double heritage – the WHS which is a tangible heritage, and also the practices which is intangible and private. Conway states that the challenge is to integrate local heritage values with the narratives of the WHS. Tucker and Carnegie (2014), in their study at Göreme WHS, reveal the religious tensions between Christian and Islamic values in the interpretations of heritage and the dispute relating local heritage values to universal values. Tucker and Carnegie's study supports the adoption of pluralism and consideration of the variety of narratives from all voices of the community in determining the value of the site.

Even though many have expressed their interest in the future of the cultural heritage, so far the tangible and intangible heritage continue to be protected as separate entities (Taha, 2014a). The 1972 and 2003 Conventions seem to be politically influenced and might not reflect the intention of UNESCO in developing integrated approaches to the management of both the tangible and intangible heritage (Deacon, 2012). However, the management of the cultural heritage can no longer show bias to either tangible or intangible aspects as both have their importance. The cultural heritage involves tangible and intangible elements, even though the term cultural heritage itself is not being expressed in an integrated way. Another issue that needs to be considered is how cultural heritage assets are being taken care of, especially when this deals with rigorous assessment and process (Kurin, 2004). As culture evolves and changes, there is concern about the safeguarding of the intangible heritage in particular, for it to remain effective and adaptable to changes (Lenzerini, 2011). Change could influence how people react to the assets, and it affects the continuity of the survival of the cultural heritage in the future. Kaufman (2013) believes that to protect the intangible heritage, the decision-making process needs to consider the views from all experts of the site – the community and professionals.

Currently, international charters, guidelines and other conservation documents enacted by UNESCO and International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) are often represented as authoritative definitions of heritage and its proper management. However, the way experts define the meaning and values of heritage only considers value typologies and basic descriptions of the values. The value typologies are not a proper analysis of cultural heritage components, as the valuation schemes tend to be

rigid and because values change over time. The judgement of cultural heritage values is also based on the motivation or interests of the authorised group. This could create conflicts as there will be a difference of opinion, interpretation, yardstick and approach (de la Torre and Mason, 2002; Ateca-Amestoy, 2011).

2.2 The Relationship between Tangible and Intangible Heritage Values

Having reflected on some relevant definitions, arguments and judgements on cultural heritage in the previous sections, I would now like to turn to one of the issues of the study. Previous research has revealed that there is a relationship between the tangible heritage and intangible heritage (Bouchenaki, 2003; Ito, 2003; Munjeri, 2004; Kenny, 2009; Smith and Akagawa, 2009; Harrison and Rose, 2010; Rudolff, 2010; Swensen *et al.*, 2013; Taha, 2014b). However, so far it appears that no attempt has been made to propose a complete study on the nature of the relationship. There are various allusions, but incomplete hints, and isolated descriptions of the relationship between the tangible and intangible heritage across studies on the cultural heritage.

The tangible and intangible heritage are said to be interconnected (Taha, 2014b) and intertwined (Harrison and Rose, 2010). Kenny (2009) argues that the relationship is dynamic, which might be parallel to the idea of heritage itself as a process. This means that there are possibilities for the relationship to experience changes, whether they are positive or negative ones. Kenny's argument, however, does not attempt to explain how changes occur, nor to define the method to study the relationship. Another distinct issue is the dependencies between the two. The tangible and intangible heritage is said to

have a symbiotic relationship (Bouchenaki, 2003). This implies that one of the elements could be more dominant than the other, or that they may be of equal importance.

In spite of claims that they are mutually dependent, however, the manifestation between the two components of cultural heritage remain questionable. The intangible heritage may be seen as behavioural expressions of culture, whereas tangible heritage often relates to the spatial expression of culture (Rudolff, 2010) and may be understood and evaluated through the intangible (Munjeri, 2004; Swensen *et al.*, 2013). In parallel to this, Carman (2009: 193) states that 'heritage is inevitably more intangible a phenomenon than tangible, and yet that its intangibility needs to attach to something tangible to exist at all'. Reflecting on the findings from a case study on an indigenous group, Harrison and Rose (2010) found that there exists a connection between material and non-material elements and the environment. They firmly believed and echoed Carman's (2009) argument that the intangible heritage such as cultural activities and expressions require physical manifestation, for example, places to attach themselves to. Silva (2009) criticises the division of the terms tangible and intangible heritage that has somehow disconnected the two elements and disregards the complex relationships between them. In this respect, Smith (2006: 54) points out that 'If heritage is mentality, a way of knowing and seeing, then all heritage becomes, in a sense, "intangible"'. This means that values and meanings are important, whether they are represented in physical or non-physical formats. Similarly, Kaufman (2013) believes that the split of tangible and intangible heritage may, therefore, be put to an end.

Based on all the studies reviewed so far, although many suffer difficulties in providing explanations in detail, there are several clues given to understand the relationship between the tangible and intangible heritage. Petrulis (2016) believes that the understanding of heritage values goes beyond the emphasis of tangible/intangible heritage definition – to the various expectations of stakeholders. Harrison and Rose (2010) suggest that the cultural heritage needs to be thought of through a more integrated approach, and the analysis of cultural heritage elements in the built environment may need to be done more holistically (Karakul, 2011). This is in line with the 2004 Yamato Declaration on Integrated Approaches for Safeguarding Tangible and Intangible Cultural Heritage to consider possible integrated approaches in the safeguarding of the tangible and intangible heritage which are 'consistent and mutually beneficial and reinforcing' to the communities (UNESCO, 2004: Article 11).

Swensen et al.(2013) argue that narratives might make cultural heritage alive and existent. Munjeri (2004) mentions that cultural heritage might be expressed through the meaning and merit that people give it. Kaufman (2013: 28–29) introduces the term 'story sites' as places which goes beyond the standard description of heritage sites, for example, inexpensive eatery places. To Kaufman, the 'story sites' can only be identified through the stories told by people, even though the value may divert from the ascribed values of the site. Meanwhile, Taha (2014a) believes that other considerations may include people's experience, memories and associations with the place, which are important to understanding and managing heritage resources, in keeping with my previous discussion of heritage as a concept.

There seems to be a need to have a holistic view of the various types of values at the WH site. In 2003, the Conference on Linking Universal and Local Values: Managing a Sustainable Future for World Heritage was hosted in Amsterdam, and one of the recommendations from the conference includes making sure that all values, including local values, are to be understood, respected and considered when managing a WH site (Merode, Smeets and Westrik, 2004). Brown and Hay-Edie (2014: 74) state that 'the consideration of community held values may enhance and broaden the OUV articulated for an existing (or potential) World Heritage site'. Therefore, it is important to understand the relationship between the tangible and intangible heritage values in a more detailed manner.

2.3 The Spaces of Cultural Heritage

Focusing on the cultural heritage as entities in space and place, there is a need for an interdisciplinary theoretical approach evaluating the different approaches to the study of cultural heritage values. The study is framed by cultural heritage and space-place relations in understanding the relationship between local communities and the WHS. In this section, the study seeks to examine the different perspectives on the interpretation of space and cultural heritage. To provide a feasible framework, it is worth looking at some fundamental concepts of space and place, and relating them to the sense of place, memory, embodiment, identity and power relations. The study will then situate cultural heritage and spaces with a postcolonial and multiculturalism context. This, I believe, will explain the relationship in a more pragmatic and sensible way.

Consideration of space and cultural heritage requires deliberation on two unique sets of concepts. There are many expressions in our everyday language for space, for example, public space, private space and social space, which give the idea of human activities and their whereabouts. In cultural heritage analysis, the concept of space is important to discuss how people make sense of, experience, occupy, construct, perform, perceive, or embody the sites and place. Low (2014) proposes that culture is spatialised through two important processes, namely the social production of space, and the social construction of space. He suggests that the social production of space consists of social, economic, ideological and technological factors, which then result in the physical establishment of the material setting. However, the social construction of space is established when space is transformed into place, through humans' social interactions, memories, experiences, imagination and usage. Low further argues that these production processes, however, are not complete without the inclusion of embodied space. Therefore, spaces of cultural heritage could be defined as space with tangible and intangible elements in it, which are a product of social production and social construction. In the next section, I turn to a set of alternative conceptualisations of space that tend to emphasise the spaces of cultural heritage.

2.3.1 Lived space and thirdspace

Lefebvre (1991: 286) in his book 'The Production of Space' claims that 'space is permeated with social relations; it is not only supported by social relations, but it is also producing and produced by social relations'. Lefebvre believes that the production process of space could result in new space being produced by society. Spaces are the result of various modes of production, with the advancement of technology, materials,

and skills impacting on the way people perceive things. When there are changes to space due to the mode of production, appropriation of space is needed to repeatedly fulfil and develop human needs. Therefore, following Lefebvre, considering space as a social product it is worth considering the producer, process, product and the users. Massey (2005) supports Lefebvre's ideas by claiming that space is always under construction. This line of thought envisages the production of space as a never-ending process with uncountable trajectories and stories behind it. Space also deals with history: it is related to past events and has reference to time (Lefebvre, 1991; Massey, 2005).

To understand the conceptualisation of space further, Lefebvre (1991) suggests that space is produced by dynamic interrelations or 'spatial triads' between the spatial practice (perceived space), representations of space (conceived space) and representational space (lived space). Lefebvre explains that the perceived space of a society hides the society's space; instead, it proposes and assumes it. In other words, perceived space is exposed to the interpretation of its space. Lefebvre acknowledges a 'spatial practice' that is necessary for the understanding of spaces for culture, and describes it as production and reproduction of social formation. Conceived space refers to space that is dominant in any society: space where what is lived, perceived and conceived was identified by groups of experts, for example, scientists, planners, and urbanists. Meanwhile, lived space refers to space that is linked to its images and symbols, and also to its people and users. Lefebvre (1991: 39) believes that lived space is dominated and 'passively experienced'. However, due to curiosity and imagination, humans tend to change and appropriate the space in practice.

Another way to explain more about lived space is to look at the notion of thirdspace. Bhabha (1994b: 157), a postcolonial theorist, defines thirdspace as 'space that we will find those words with which we can speak of Ourselves and Others'. He claims that thirdspace is a space where hybrid cultures are represented, as he believes culture is never unitary or dualistic. Hybridity too is used widely to explain ethnicity and multiculturalism. To Bhabha, thirdspace constructs identities based on various meanings and becomes a space where the binary distinction between coloniser and colonised can be solved. Meanwhile, Soja (1996) suggests that thirdspace relates to the three interrelated modes of firstspace, secondspace and thirdspace. Firstspace refers to material space, while secondspace relates to imagined space. For Soja, another way of looking at and interpreting socially produced space is through thirdspace, which involves both material and symbolic dimensions. Thirdspace is seen as fully lived, and spatially and historically constructed, and relates to humans as the users of space.

In relation to the cultural heritage, Bhabha's ideas have touched on the importance of history in explaining a new form of culture that is a result of postcolonialism and multiculturalism. Soja's work was also influenced by Lefebvre's ideas on the three interrelations of space and touches the complexity of space in the world today, which relates to issues such as social exclusion and identity. The positing of spatial triads by Lefebvre, Soja and Bhabha, especially on lived space and thirdspace, has introduced a new conception of space and suggests an approach to an integrated view of the space of cultural heritage. They also provide insights into how space is subjected to sociocultural construction with consideration of people's participation.

2.4 Place as Social Construct

The concept of place in the literature is broad and complex; however, several criteria could be extracted to explain the concept. Place is socially produced and constructed (Massey, 1991; Smith, 2006) and it is known as a space when people put meaning and insert value into it (Relph, 1976; Tuan, 1979; Cresswell, 2004; Smith, 2006; Kaufman, 2013). The meaning of place according to Relph (1976) is established by the spiritual aspect and subjective experience of human interaction with the natural world. Tuan (1977) describes the value of place as deeply related to the humanistic aspect of places, for example human involvement, connection and experience of places using all senses. The next criterion is that place has a particular location, for instance, in small towns, in rural areas, or in urban areas. Location can be described when we ask where the place is in relation to everywhere else, or it can be explained as 'here' or 'there'. According to Agnew (1987) and Lawson (2001), the location could change from time to time depending on activities, movement of people and on how space assists the relationships between humans. However, Massey (1991) asserts that place is not confined within boundaries, which means that it could have linkages to the outside world.

The third criterion is locale, which could be defined and shaped by physical elements such as roofs, walls, trees, hedges, and streets. Locale can also be viewed as a setting that relates to the social activities taking place and which help establish values, attitudes and behaviour (Cullen, 1961; Agnew, 1987; Lopez, 2010). The fourth criterion is that place could suggest ownership (Agnew, 1987). Ownership is closely related to human connection with a location that is capable of giving a sense of privacy and belonging. The fifth criterion is that place can be associated with the sense of place that exists when

there is an emotional and spiritual attachment between humans and place (Agnew, 1987; Silva, 2009). The last criterion is that place has multiple identities and is confronted with internal conflict at all times, be it in the past, present, or future (Massey, 1991).

Place is also related to scale and there are various ways of addressing it. Howitt (1998) states that scale has three dimensions, namely size, level and relation. Size relates to the way scale is represented using maps, and level relates to the variety of spatial contexts, for example personal, neighbourhood and national level. However, these two dimensions are not sufficient to understand scale, as scale needs to be understood as relational. The relational context refers to how a place established its associations, networks and relations, for example with culture, politics, history and economy. Walter (2014) sees the importance of narrative as one way of understanding place, as the value of heritage is subjective. By placing stress on the narrative, the significance of a site or building can be understood and therefore becomes one of the means for the conservation of the place.

With all the insights of the concept of place and its criteria, it can be concluded that place is not just manifested in its physical form, but provides space and opportunity for more intangible elements to be appreciated. The next section will discuss how place has meanings and values attached to it, by referring to the concept of sense of place.

2.5 Sense of Place

The sense of place could be expressed using various terms, for example, place attachment, place identity, the spirit of place, genius loci, insidedness and topophilia (Tuan, 1974; Relph, 1976; Norberg-Schultz, 1980; Cross, 2001, 2015; Gospodini, 2004). Here, the physical and non-physical aspects of heritage that contribute to the sense of place are discussed. According to Schofield and Szymanski (2011), the cultural heritage has an effect on the sense of place. Local communities' sense of place is important in heritage management practice, as it could explain the way people are attached to place. The next sub-section will discuss the components of sense of place, namely identity and images, belonging, attachment, ownership, stewardship, authenticity, significance and process.

2.5.1 Identity and images

In the field of the cultural heritage, the identity of a place can be presented by both its physical and cultural elements. Jiven and Larkham (2003) refer to the work of Norberg-Schulz (1980) on the sense of place, which highlights the importance of character in making a place identifiable. Nevertheless, Norberg-Schulz's work concentrates more on the built environment, as compared to other intangible elements that provide character, such as symbolic meanings, values and the views of people. According to Relph (1976), three components of place contribute to its identity, namely, activities, meanings and the static physical setting. The activities are divided into creative or destructive factors, or those undertaken in groups or individually. Meanwhile, the meaning of place demands more attention as it relates to human intentions, experience, backgrounds, cultures, preferences and viewpoints. In terms of the physical setting, Gospodini (2004) agrees

that the built heritage can be a useful tool for building place identity. It can be achieved, firstly, by referring to national identity and culture, where built heritage becomes a shared object among the members of society. It will form a 'spatial membership', thus creating place identity. However, her study does not elaborate on the importance of integrating intangible aspects of the built heritage to create place identity.

Another way of determining the identity of a place is by using the term 'insideness' and 'outsideness' (Relph, 1976). Being inside a place makes a person aware of where he is and creates a stronger identity. Outsideness refers to a situation where a person is looking at a place in the same way as that of travellers, that is, from an outside view – from a certain distance. The manifestation of inside and outside can be represented in a physical form, such as the city wall, gateways or even using terms such as 'in town' or 'out of town'. The separation between inside or outside often depends on human intentions and preferences. According to Silva (2009), an image of an environment is the product of two imageable dimensions: a physical dimension and a symbolic dimension. Tangible heritage such as buildings, monuments and artefacts offer visual images that capture the human point of view, could validate or create new memories, and affect the response of the users. They also represent identity and give structure to a place (Lynch, 1960). The symbolic dimension or intangible heritage comprises cultural meanings and personal meanings concerning the place and its tangible dimension. Due to globalisation, there is also a need to consider the issue of multicultural identities and diversity of culture and tolerance, which could create a different meaning of heritage at a different place (Waterton and Smith, 2008). McClinchey (2016: 8) finds that the sense

of place of multicultural communities at a multicultural festival is ‘individual, personal, intimate, simple yet extremely complex’.

The image of a place is often referred to as its identity, which is an outcome of experiences, attitudes, memories, and immediate sensations. The identity of place varies, based on the image it brings to the people, to either an individual, group or community (Boulding, 1961 as cited by Relph, 1976). Lynch (1960) introduces the concept of imageability and the elements of the image of the city that include paths, edges, districts, nodes and landmarks. These five elements may lead to integration and are important factors that aid people in orienting themselves in a city. However, Lynch’s work concentrates on visual images, with fewer considerations to other senses. Meanwhile, Silva (2009) suggests that the environment consists of a perceptual or physical dimension and a symbolic dimension. The physical dimension deals with physical features, activities, place ambience and the spatial order in a place, while the symbolic dimension refers to cultural meanings (social meanings and historical memories) and personal meaning (place attachment and preferences). The stronger these dimensions, the stronger is the image and further, the identity of the place.

2.5.2 Sense of belonging, place attachment, ownership and stewardship

The sense of place could also be related to a sense of belonging, place attachment, and issues of ownership and stewardship. There are many indicators of the sense of belonging, for example, participating in the activities of a place-related affair. Relph (1976) believes that place has a unique entity which could evoke a sense of place, with distinct elements that differentiate one place from another. The sense of place could also

create thoughts and memories (Smith, 2006; Kaufman, 2013) and contributes to the sense of identity and belonging to a place (Smith, 2006; Harrison and Rose, 2010; Hawke, 2010). Hawke (2010) states that the way people are attached to a place differs according to the individual. She also found that the value and meaning of a place for local people are different from what has been ascribed by the national level power.

Tangible or intangible heritage resources could be used and manipulated, either directly or indirectly, to enhance the sense of place. Familiar architectural features, for example, could strengthen the sense of place, retain the memory of the past culture and become the image of the area (Mazumdar *et al.*, 2000). On the other hand, Harrison and Rose (2010) argue that it is the intangible heritage that connects people's sense of attachment to a place. These non-tangible or non-physical aspects of heritage help societies to remember their past and traditions. Robertson (2012) discusses those people who create their own heritage, holding different ideas from the authorised heritage discourse. He talks about the intangible aspects of heritage, for example memories, experience, stories and oral history, which involve ordinary people and their daily practices.

Other factor that could contribute to a sense of place is ownership. Rifaioglu and Şahin Guchan (2013) state that ownership is an important aspect of creating meaning in an urban context, which relates to the investigation of authenticity, identity, and the sense of place. They highlight that there are three parameters of property rights, namely use, ownership and copyright, which contribute to conserving the sense of place. Setten (2012) discusses the dual ownership of heritage when a traditional privately owned house (known as jærhus) in Norway became a heritage claimed by the larger public and

international communities. He stated that different values were assigned to jærhus, and the value differs between the authorised group and local communities. Chapin and Knapp (2015) argue that a sense of place can be used as a motivation for long-term stewardship. Sense of place is also related to stewardship. Brown and Hay-Edie (2014: 48) believe that effective stewardship of WH sites is related to two components, namely 'management and governance'. Management includes the aims, actions and results of the managing body, while governance includes the principles, policies and rules on decision-making.

2.5.3 Authenticity and significance

Another attribute of the sense of place is its relation to the concept of authenticity. Based on the Nara Document on Authenticity, authenticity relates very closely with values of cultural heritage. The document also states that:

> 'All judgements about values attributed to cultural properties as well as the credibility of related information sources may differ from culture to culture, and even within the same culture. It is thus not possible to base judgements of values and authenticity within fixed criteria. On the contrary, the respect due to all cultures requires that heritage properties must considered and judged within the cultural contexts to which they belong.' (ICOMOS, 1994: Article 11).

Even though the Operational Guidelines has suggested a list of attributes in meeting the conditions of authenticity, for example, form and design, materials and substance, location and setting, spirit and feeling, and tradition, techniques and management systems, it is very difficult to determine truthfulness and credibility in terms of authenticity (UNESCO, 2017: Article 82). Jones (2009: 11) believes that there is concern about the measurements of authenticity of objects – depending on how people decide to present them – and the way people take care of the relationships between

‘objects, people and places across time’. Defining authenticity is difficult and in this constantly change world, authenticity should be recognised as a dynamic concept (Khalaf, 2018). Ouf (2001) states that in conserving urban areas, the authenticity of the tangible heritage and intangible heritage need to be taken care of. However, to Ouf, authenticity is not as important as the sense of place in creating urban experience.

Deacon and Smeets (2013) state that the power to determine authenticity and heritage values continues to held mainly by the experts rather than the local communities. Authenticity is a concern at a WHS, for example, Apotsos’s (2012) study of the old town of Djenné reveals the pressure exerted on the site by external groups (other countries) who wanted to decide how the site should be displayed to the world. The proposals put forward by external groups include replacing different building materials which were out of context and ignored the value of materiality of the building. However, in the Yamato Declaration on Integrated Approaches for Safeguarding Tangible and Intangible Cultural Heritage (UNESCO, 2004), the term authenticity is not applicable to the intangible heritage, be it in identifying or safeguarding this type of heritage.

Silva (2008b, 2015) emphasises that the overall experience of the sense of the place is based on its core dimensions, which are those elements that need to be preserved, and its risk dimensions, which are those elements allowed to change. Markevičienė (2012) believes that to sustain a sense of place, the character of a place needs to be linked to the significance of traditional ways of life in the present setting. The term sense of place could also be related to the cultural significance of the historic area and the

community's comprehension, conservation goals, and development requirements of the place.

2.5.4 Process

Chapin and Knapp (2015) assert that sense of place signifies a process through which people could distinguish themselves, and which connects to, relies on, and transforms places, as well as the meaning, values, and association to the place. Beidler and Morrison (2015) suggest that sense of place is a comprehensive transformation of space into place. It relates to how humans visualise images of the place and become emotionally attached to it (Relph, 1976; Smith, 2006; Kaufman, 2013). Ashworth, Graham and Tunbridge (2007) suggest that the sense of place is the product of the creative imagination of the individual and society. It also offers experience based on the life story (Tuan, 1979; Cresswell, 2004; Smith, 2006; Kaufman, 2013). Therefore, since the sense of place is related to process and is a product of people-place-processes, it experiences change. The sense of place also deals with the process of negotiation or renegotiation of identity to survive in a new environment (Terrazas-Carrillo, Hong and Pace, 2014; Liu, 2015). This process, however, requires consideration in terms of the needs of the whole community, not only for certain groups such as migrants and traders. In terms of the people dimension, Scannel and Gifford (2010) believe that it refers to meanings that are established individually or collectively. Lewicka (2011) believes that place is the strongest component in comparison with people and process.

Cross (2015) states that place attachment is a dynamic experience, which is interactional and moves through space and place. Therefore, Cross proposes an interactional process

of place attachment that consists of seven processes, namely, sensory, narrative, historical, spiritual, ideological, commodifying, and material dependence. Each of these processes has its action and meaning-making. The sensory process relates to the usage of the five human senses in experiencing place, while narrative deals with stories of place that typically refer to the history, and myths, and our relationship to it. Historical elements relate to the history of family, culture and personal life experience. Spiritual elements deal with the intense sense of belonging, while ideological aspects deal with the idea of how to live in a place, which could come in the form of morals, and ethics of responsibility. The commodifying process is based on an individual's idea of an ideal place and his or her ability to choose based on the desirable features. The last process is material dependence, which refers to the social resources or characters of the place. However, more research needs to be carried out, especially on how the processes could shape people's experience, choices, and actions at a place.

In relation to the human senses in experiencing place, Istasse (2016) reveals that the courtyard house in the Medina of Fez is a sensual and affective object and a place to which people are attached in many ways. Here Istasse stresses personal experience where even the smallest things, for example the surrounding sounds and the beauty and texture of building materials, could add to the sense of belonging and personal attachment. However, the authorised groups who are responsible for management in the Medina barely pay attention to the sensory experience and the affective qualities, especially when executing projects with regard to heritage. The stereotype for many sites is that they received an influx of visitors after designation as a WHS. Galle Fort in Sri Lanka is not an exception, where its sense of place is affected by excessive

gentrification and uncontrolled tourism. The Sri Lanka government try to reduce the risk dimension to sense of place; however, Galle lacks community participation in the management of the site (Rajapakse, 2013).

The next sub-section discusses the sense of place with the theory of habitus, in order to understand how and why different people react in certain ways.

2.5.5 Relating sense of place to the theory of habitus

An important concept that is useful for the sense of place is habitus, derived from 'The Logic of Practice' written by Pierre Bourdieu (1990). The concept of habitus is adapted to explain the interaction of the human with the social and material world, and how society develops and adapts naturally. It discussed the dialectic relation between culture, structure and power and factors that motivate human action. Bourdieu (1990: 53) defines habitus as follows:

> The conditions associated with a particular class of conditions of existence produce habitus, systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles which generate and organise practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary in order to attain them.

From Bourdieu's point of view, 'habitus' relates to how humans produce similar practices over the readily available structures. Meanwhile, structuring structures according to Bourdieu (1990: 55) have 'an infinite capacity for generating products – thoughts, perceptions, expressions and actions – whose limits are set by the historically and socially situated conditions of its production'. In relation to cultural heritage, these structures may be delineated by social expression. Hillier and Rooksby (2005) believe

that ‘habitus’ has a generative principle, which is capable of producing new invention and improvisation within a particular limit. Through time, humans tend to choose their practices and may repeat certain actions or behaviours, based on their experience or gaining of new knowledge.

Habitus is closely related to the concepts of field and capital, and it is useful to consider that they are interdependent with one another. Bourdieu (1990) describes the field as an arena where actors act based on knowledge, previous history, and experience. The field is embedded in social space where practical mastery or skills are needed to survive, and in dealing with problems and conflicts. Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) further list three types of capital, namely economic, cultural, and social. Economic capital is equated with material wealth that can be converted into money. Meanwhile, social capital is equated with resources and power, as a result of possessing social relations such as networks, associations with others and recognition. Cultural capital can exist in three forms. The first one is in the embodied state, which relates to meanings concerning the mind and body. It includes religion, the composition of songs and works of arts. The second one is in the ‘objectified’ state where this could exist in the form of objects, such as manuscripts, music instruments, etc. The third one is in the ‘institutionalised’ state, which can be represented in the object form, but with reference to educational qualifications. Bourdieu also recognises the existence of symbolic capital, as integrations and conversions of economic, cultural and social capital. Hillier and Rooksby (2005) suggest that symbolic capital has a strong relation to power, especially on how the actors perceive it. For Bordieu, one’s habitus is determined by the social

trajectory, which involves ‘the series of positions successively occupied by the same agent or the same group of agents in successive spaces.’ (1996: 258).

With respect to the use of ‘habitus’ in cultural heritage, Basu and Modest (2014) suggest that it includes the process of social production and social changes, especially in the globalised world. Hillier (1999) believes that the social construction of space and place and the social construction of human beings are complex processes. Lefebvre’s (1991) theory of the social production of space could also be related to Bourdieu's habitus, in particular to spatial practice where it relates to the daily practice and routine of people; and also to the representation of space, which refers to the structuring of space by the professionals or experts. Hillier and Rooksby (2005: 21) believe that habitus is ‘an embodied, as well as a cognitive, sense of place’. Embodied disposition could create another distinctive habitus, as it dwells on affective aspects of habitus, on feelings, emotion and effects. Habitus may also influence the everyday practices as well as bodily postures and ways of being. It is the embodied way in which people engage with the world, and how space and place are perceived. Therefore, habitus justifies that it is hard to separate the tangible and intangible heritage into two different components. In this respect, the cultural heritage values could be associated with the formulation of the relationships between practices, embodiment, representations and habitus proposed by Bourdieu.

2.6 Bodily Attachment to Space and Place

In the past decades, many scholars have taken an interest in different perspectives on embodiment. Crouch (2010: 58) states that heritage is a ‘gentle politics that emerges

from the quieter affects of people coming to their own heritage'. He believes cultural heritage should be seen as continually appearing and performed. To Crouch, there are other components in addition to visual elements that relate to the construction of the meaning of heritage, for example performance and performativity. One perspective on understanding embodiment concerns how the value of the intangible heritage could be represented. In the previous sections, I have discussed arguments that the intangible heritage needs physical manifestation to explain its relationship with the tangible heritage. Kim (2004: 18) states that the 'tangible heritage is the embodiment of intangible heritage'. By associating the tangible and intangible heritage, the value of the cultural heritage may be experienced and perhaps appreciated differently.

Park (2010, 2011) highlights that heritage is a symbolic and spiritual embodiment, which could create a stronger identification and representation of society. However, Taylor (2015) believes that the embodiment of heritage values needs not be in the physical form, but one that could explain the tangible heritage and intangible heritage in a more expressive way. Taylor (2015: 73) introduces two terms, namely 'intangible value' and 'intangible embodiment' to explain his argument. 'Intangible value' relates to '"important" qualities that are continually renewed and embodied by a site', while the latter relates to 'process, event, etc. that communicates value and discourse'. Taylor concludes that heritage is an 'event' that needs to be encoded by the creators and communities and decoded by consumers or audience, using embodiment as the medium of communication and social practice.

Another perspective on embodiment is how the body represents all actions of practice, rituals, societies, activities, religious acts, knowledge and techniques of constructing the built environment. Giddens (1984) in his theory of structuration deals with the human as an agent, and its relationship with the social structure (agency). The act of the agent will give effect to the agency, for example, the traditions or other social practices in a positive or negative way. Bourdieu's (1990) theory of habitus includes embodiment as an important concept as well. Casey (2001: 406) states that 'there is no place without self and no self without place'. He believes that the relationship between the human body and place is important, and one cannot exist without the other. Incorporating embodiment into spatial analysis allows explorations of the social construction and social production at various levels, be it at global or at the local scale (Low, 2011). In her study, Low (2014) suggests embodied space as a vital concept in understanding the making of place through spatial orientation, movement, human action, and understanding imaginary space. Therefore, what becomes apparent through this discussion is the cultural heritage as a process which needs to be encoded and decoded through embodiment as a medium, and it relates to the concept of space and place.

2.6.1 Spatial orientation

There are various ways of explaining spatial orientation in the making of place. One is through the term 'mobile spatial field', introduced by Munn (1996), which describes the relationship between space, bodily action and time. Munn (1996: 449) defines it as a 'culturally defined, corporeal-sensual field of significant distances stretching out from the body in a particular stance or at a given locale or as it moves through locale'. The locale or location could change, depending on how the mobile users act as they move

around. Munn adds that people use feelings, experience, knowledge, preferences and intention, with the influence of culture, to create space. Another way to explain people's presence in space is to relate it to feeling inside space and being aware of what is around them or 'being-in-the-world' and experiencing the reality of the place (Richardson, 2003: 76; Böhme, 2013). Richardson (2003) believes that to understand the building of culture is to consider its nature as a material culture. The term material culture refers to the physical resources used to describe the culture and that are important to fix experience, imagination, and human dreams. He believes that culture is forever changing and that humans have responsibility in composing both materials produced by the experience of social interaction and also by nature. Böhme (2013: 457), on the other hand, refers to a space of bodily presence, 'to find oneself within an environment'. Bodily space means the person is aware that he is 'here' and aware of what surrounds him. Böhme believes that human existence in space relates very much to actions, moods, atmospheres and affection or perception. It is reasonable to suggest that bodily attachment and interaction have a strong influence on cultural heritage from two perspectives.

Spatial orientation could also be understood based on language and discourses using words. Duranti (2003) explains this in a study on how the same communities living in two different locations found that simple words could give a different meaning in both communities. It directs attention to the way an individual's body moves, rules the space and positions itself. This indexical expression explains the relationship between body and space; in this context based on the culture of the people. Therefore, it can be said

that cultural space can also be established by interpreting the language used by a community.

2.6.2 The act of walking

This section discusses the act of walking, to further understand the way space is experienced and to understand the production of space at an urban area. Michel de Certeau (1984: 117) in his book 'The Practice of Everyday Life', suggests that practices could produce space in a particular place:

> Space is a practised place. Thus, the street geometrically defined by urban planning is transformed into space by walkers. In the same way, an act of reading is the space produced by the practice of a particular place: a written text, i.e., a place constituted by a system of signs.

According to de Certeau, people could produce and experience hidden and unexpected space by being pedestrians, through their movement by walking in the city. He explains further using the terms 'strategy' and 'tactics', where human movement may be subjected to strategies and rules produced by authorised people or groups. However, how humans react to the strategies depend on the tactics they use, which may be adjusted or manipulated due to particular situations or opportunities offered. By using some imagination and creativity, space may escape the discipline of urban planning, as people perform the activity of walking, seeing, or making a stop at certain locations. Collie (2013) believes that the city's space and place, its meanings and subjectivities relate to the way people of different backgrounds and identities move and write the city. Meanwhile, Benjamin (1999) discusses flâneur, known as walkers or strollers who demonstrate the practicality of the city by assessing the way the city is being shaped. By walking, flâneur observes the city looking at how people perform their daily lives, for

example, doing business, talking with neighbours, and then appropriating the space, which is full with activities in the internal or external parts of the building.

2.6.3 The body in relation to material and imaginary space

Heritage could also be embodied in materials, and humans seek psychological protection in a familiar space and place. I look into the work of Bachelard (1964) in 'The Poetics of Space', who interprets space in everyday poetic rhythms, in the context of a humble human space, which is a house. In his study, he shows that for many people, the most meaningful things happen in the house, the most secure comfortable space in many people's lives. To Bachelard: 'A house that has been experienced is not an inert box. Inhabited space transcends geometrical space' (1964: 47). Space could also be produced by using the power of imagination and daydreams. Bachelard (1964) argues that memories of a house are not something that are recalled but are intertwined with the present, which is part of our process of gaining experience. By referring to the metaphor of the house, Bachelard explains the intimacy of space, using the vocabulary of, for example, indoor and outdoor, or open and closed. In particular, he uses familiar domestic objects such as drawers, chests, wardrobes, nests, shells, corners and house, among others, to explain the meaning of space. In parallel to Bachelard's 'poetic image', Jafa (2012) agrees that narration could provoke imaginations and construct images on how space could be experienced. She believes that it helps to explain the setting, organisation of space, the architecture and the daily activities of people inside and outside the dwellings.

Bachelard (1964) also believes that intimate space is not only focused on its materiality but the imagination and experience that took place within it. He describes drawers and chests as places to hide secrets, a wardrobe as a hiding place, a nest as something secure and a place to gain confidence, shells as protective space, and corners as space where we find solitude. Going back to the dimension of cultural heritage space, the strength of Bachelard's account lies in the idea of space as something essentially embodied, lived and subjective. He develops an argument on the unintentional nature of spatial practice and place experience, by using imagination, which could produce an attractive space and place. In relation to cultural heritage, Bachelard's work relates to how heritage might exist inside and also outside of the building, the importance of distinction and hierarchy of space, communal heritage and personal heritage that people live with, and also how it could mark people's identity.

2.7 Framing of Space and Place

From the previous sections, which discuss the concepts of heritage, the notion of space and place, sense of place and bodily attachments to space and place, I introduce the concept of framing, as our everyday life is set in a frame – consciously or unconsciously. Goffman (1974: 21) uses the term 'framework' that 'allows its users to locate, perceive, identify, and label a seemingly infinite number of concrete occurrences defined in its terms'. To Goffman, the frame depicts 'schemata of interpretation' that decide 'what would otherwise be a meaningless aspect of the scene into something that is meaningful' (1974: 21). Frame also gives direction to how people may react to a particular condition, within the frame. Rettie (2004) states that frames could manage involvement and aid understanding of the experience of humans. It also explains what is

happening around us and how humans react by ‘being in’ an environment. Looking into framing theory, Bernstein (1971) suggests that it denotes control over the social relationship, and how meanings are put together.

In associating heritage with the concept of framing, heritage frames what is in the past and also in the present. Wilson (2013) believes that applying the theory of frame analysis could provide a better evaluation of the representation of heritage. He further explains that the way people perceive the idea of heritage depends on which ‘frame’ is being utilised, which relates to human motivations, needs and preferences. Heritage, place and space have multiple meanings, interpretations and identities. Dovey (1999) believes that the action of human beings is framed by physical objects, which also will frame the meaning of space and place. The framing of space using physical objects occurs through the usage of such structures as walls, fences, hedges, and so forth. Dovey (1999) also suggests that framing could clarify the link between place and the exercise of power. He also believes that built forms construct everyday life by offering certain spaces for programmed action while closing other possibilities. Goffman (1974) states that there are two types of frameworks, namely, natural and social frameworks. The first one denotes a natural element, which is honest, uninstructed, and uncontrolled, while the latter is a frame that directly relates to human beings. Social frameworks depend on human preferences, motives, affections, and so forth, which may result in, for example, manipulation, threats and mediation.

Theory of frame is also related to heritage and tourism field. Ku (2012) introduces the term ‘tourism frame’ as an extension of Goffman’s (1974) theory to explain how

tourists interact with the professional guides at a heritage site. The tourists' interpretation of the site, whether it opposes, or parallels what has been framed by the guide, could affect the future of heritage site management. Wong (2013) discusses how the narratives presented to tourists by tourist guides on the colonial heritage at Macau differ between Chinese and non-Chinese audiences. Tourist guides tend to neglect to present the colonial past to the Chinese, but will recount the colonial history to the non-Chinese tourist if the guide receives encouragement from the tourist. The way heritage at a WHS is presented to the tourist is a concern; it depends on the interest, motivation and vision of the players in the tourism industry. Framing theory could also be useful to change the way people think about a nation's governance. Mitchell (1988) uses the word 'enframing' to explain the domination of people, not only in terms of urban planning and building control, but beyond it. This process attempts to change people's perception of the government in a more educational and persuasive way, instead of through force. The frame is also unique to a certain place and setting, especially depending on how culture, ideology, practices or even rituals are constructed. Young (2010) believes that framing analysis is likely to benefit from consideration of the cultural aspects of any community.

2.7.1 Space and power relations

As stated before, framing is closely related to power relations. Bourdieu (1990) argues that power relations happen in the social field, in the sense that they may not only affect the physical aspects of the built environment, but also intangible aspects of it. There are several forms of power in relation to the built environment, which may influence how people react to space, as well as the social and cultural practices of the society. Dovey's

(1999) discourse on power and the built environment suggests that power is divided into two formats: ‘power to’ and ‘power over’ (Dovey 1999: 10). ‘Power to’ relates to empowerment and is considered as a major form of power. Dovey identifies five forms of ‘power over’, including force, coercion, seduction, manipulation and authority that are pertinent to the built environment. Force relates to the obvious exercise of power over others, leaving people without any choice to act otherwise. It finds expression in the built environment in the form of physical objects such as a fence, wall or frames. It includes all types of spatial confinements, for example, prisons and spatial exclusions, such as enclaves and fortresses.

Coercion is defined as the threat of force to assure compliance. It exists in the built form in no less than three ways. This includes the use of armed or unarmed guards of honour, public monuments and domination of space using an exaggerated scale. It could create feelings of domination or intimidation, in which the architectural form, urban design, and spatial behaviour can indicate a threat of force. Seduction relates to how interest and desires are being manipulated. In relation to the built environment, it gives distinction between ‘real’ and ‘perceived’ interest. Manipulation is a form of pressure given to the subject, which operates mainly by making the subject ignorant. It is common, especially with regard to representations of design projects, where the design situation looks like there are free choices, but in reality, the intent is concealed. Meanwhile, authority relates to the institutional structure of society. Authority is based on recognition, respect, and a dependable type of power. However, these forms of power do not exist in isolation, and the common ones in the built environment are a combination of seduction, authority and coercion (Dovey, 1999: 12).

Heritage is often seen as fixed and immovable, especially the tangible heritage, which is subjected to building regulations and guidelines. Built forms symbolise power relations, for example by constituting to its external representation through the building façade. Dale and Burrell (2008) believe that power could influence how the external fabric of a building is designed, with various selections of material, colour, texture, shape, function and architectural style. However, the way in which the internal space is organised is important too, as it could direct the users to experience, understand and connect with the spaces in the performance of their daily activities.

Framing is also viewed as a possible mechanism of control for the authorised group or those who are in the position of power, for example, the urban planners, local authority, designers and politicians. This, according to Dale and Burrell (2008), is one way of programming the action of the users on how we occupy the space and place. Njoh (2009) analyses how the planning policies in colonial African countries were dominated, socially controlled and became an instrument of power for the European colonial authorities to state their superiority. Njoh elaborates on how different forms of 'power over' were used in the built environment to control people, in particular through the spatial form, physical structure, function, land rights and entitlement, and its management and control. The planners were encouraged to use their expertise to assist the colonial government to achieve their true and hidden agenda. Therefore, urban planning might be capable of changing and shaping the life of society. Xie (2015) in his study on the industrial heritage, points out that the way stakeholders deal with heritage assets, for example by doing adaptive reuse and transforming them into tourist attractions, has a great effect on the value of heritage. Problems may arise, for example,

when framing what is considered as heritage and to what extent the sites allow tourism development.

In his book 'Power: A Radical View', Lukes (1974) explains the three dimensions of power. The first dimension of power is a decision-making power, where a decision is 'a choice among alternative modes of action' (Lukes, 1974: 39). This form of power is easy to understand as it is straightforward, aiming for conflict resolution. The second dimension is a non-decision-making power, where it 'sets the agenda in debates and make certain issues unacceptable to discuss' (Lukes, 1974: 23). This dimension of power is also known as a control of expression. For Lukes, the most effective type of power is the third dimension – ideological power. Lukes relates it to shaping preference, where power is used covertly to influence other people to do what they would otherwise not do, by changing what they want. Lukes (1974: 39) believes that the exercise of power is 'a matter of individuals consciously acting to affect others' and it can be undertaken by an individual or in groups. Another view on power is that it is also positive, and not always negative (Gaventa, 2003). His statement is based on Foucault's idea that 'power produces; it produces reality; it produces domains of objects and rituals of truth.' (Foucault, 1975: 194).

2.7.2 Mediating power in social space

Due to the complex nature of space and place, and the complicated nature of how people react to the power put on them, power can be mediated using the built form (Dovey, 1999). Dovey believes that power can be discovered in everyday practices, and he suggests that there are nine dimensions in which the built form mediates power. The

first one is using orientation/disorientation, where the built form is capable of framing humans and positioning and repositioning them. The second one is by public/private means, where built form divides some people under conditions of observation, while others have the privilege of privacy. Next is using segregation/access, where places can be segregated and separated according to the difference of their users, in background, class, gender, status and so on. The fourth one is through nature/history, where metaphor, analogy, and mythology are used to represent built form. Other than that, built form can also symbolise stability/change. The sixth one is authentic/fake, which deals with the pursuit of authority and representation. The seventh one relates to identity/difference, which deals with politics of distinctiveness of humans, cultures, institutions and nations. Next is dominant/docile, where the scale, especially the mass and volume of a building, relates closely to the discourse of dominance and pressure. The last one is through place/ideology, which refers to the question of the 'spirit' of place and the ideological appropriation of power.

The practice of power could also indirectly create a distinction between many aspects of a place, in a tangible or in an intangible way. When dealing with the two dialectic oppositions, one cannot help but differentiate the meaning into good and bad, dominance over weakness, high and low, and so on. Dale and Burrell (2008) and Dovey (1999) state that power probably becomes a factor in determining, for example, between indoor and outdoor, inclusion and exclusion, insider and outsider, and vertical and horizontal. Drawing upon the work of Harries (1998), Dovey argues that architecture has the capacity to protect humans against the fear of space and time. The architecture provides shelter and defends us from unstabilised situations through mediating the

power. In the field of cultural heritage, the issue of identity, inclusion, segregation, domination and sense of place, for example, are related to power. Mediation of power using the built form may help in achieving agreement on what needs to be retained or compromised in the built environment and the practices surrounding it. Soja (1996: 310) believes in the idea of analysing place from multiple perspectives, to understand the power and politics of it:

> Understanding the city must involve both views, the micro and the macro, with neither inherently privileged, but only with the accompanying recognition that no city – indeed, no lived space – is ever completely knowable no matter what perspective we take.

As my site of study in George Town has an urban, postcolonial and multicultural context, in the next sections, I will discuss the way postcolonialism and multiculturalism works on space and place.

2.8 Postcolonialism

The term postcolonial refers to the process of decolonisation (Featherstone and Lash, 1999). It also relates to a society that has gained independence in political terms, being released from colonial domination, and thus the term postcolonial has a chronological sense (Marschall, 2008). Often the process of decolonisation starts from ideology, revolution, or simply as motivations to gain political independence. According to Marschall (2008), the term postcolonial also implies the relationship between postcolonial countries and the former colonial powers. Each of these colonial powers had different approaches in exercising their occupation; this includes how they administered the colonised country, the duration of colonialism, the intensity of colonialism and its sociocultural impact.

Postcolonial societies face several challenges due to colonialism, for example the way they represent themselves, defining and negotiating the new identity (Graham and Howard, 2008a; Marschall, 2008). One of the results of colonialism is the rise of multiculturalism, caused by the incoming of the colonisers and immigrants. While under colonial power, the local people may have adopted the colonisers' traditions and culture to varying extents. This often leads to conflicts when a country achieves its independence and needs to face the challenge of developing a new identity. Ashcroft (2001) believes that the representation of identity deals with identity formation, and with the struggle over identity formation. Although there are many conflicting elements in the issue of representation of identity, the postcolonial nation often seems to overcome the problem by appropriating and transforming the identity of the colonisers into culturally appropriate ones, for example by developing their monuments and museums.

Another challenge concerns the issue of place and displacement, due to the 'process of settlement, intervention, or a mixture of the two' (Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin, 1989: 9). In the book 'The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practice in Post-Colonial Literatures', Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin (1989) explain that the conflict between self and place are due to two reasons, namely dislocation and cultural denigration. The migration that took place might result in dislocation of people, while cultural denigration happens when the culture of the colonised people is being oppressed and replaced with the coloniser's culture. The migrants in the host country often question their identity, whether they belong to their country of origin, or to the host country, a new place that they call home, that is full of hopes and promises.

Ashcroft (2001) further argues that one of the major drawbacks of displacement is the negative interference to the sense of place. One of the ways in which the sense of place can be affected is by inducing a feeling of displacement in those who moved to the colonies; the second way is by separating the huge population of colonised people through forced migration, slavery or indentured labour; and the last one is by dispersing people throughout the world. Ashcroft also believes that sense of displacement may not only be translated into feelings, but may deal with the attitude of the displaced people. The attitudes may be expressed through uncertainties and arguments on the word 'home', worries about social, cultural and political changes, and also doubts about the location of value. However, Ashcroft suggests that postcolonial societies in some ways could adapt and increase their capability to change after colonialism ended.

In the following section, I reflect on some concepts of space as formulated in postcolonial theory and discuss their significance for the study of cultural heritage in a globalised environment.

2.8.1 Space as the site of colonial encounters

Pratt (1992: 6) defines the 'space of colonial encounters' where 'peoples geographically and historically separated come into contact with each other and establish ongoing relations, usually involving conditions of coercion, radical inequality, and intractable conflict'. Pratt believes that the colonisers and the colonised have 'contact' which deals with communication, and coexistence within the colonial power relations. This complex space according to Lisle (2006: 187) is 'where the competing knowledge claims about the world – the most obvious being indigenous and European – encounter each other'. It

may be suggested that thirdspace could be used as a starting point to explain the nature of postcolonial spaces. Radcliffe (2011) suggests that thirdspace relates to the politics of changes, which may result in changes, transformations and challenges to the postcolonial conditions. It is through thirdspace that the meaning of culture tends to be seen as not fixed; it is always under discursive conditions that need an appropriation, translation, reinterpretation or acceptance as new. Nalbantoglu and Wong (1997) suggest that postcolonial space holds the memory of the colonial past and hopes concerning the future. It is a space with potentials to develop a new approach of spatiality, and it involves various representations and negotiations of identity. Postcolonial space could also be regarded as a space of hybridity, due to its multiplicity and diversified nature.

Said (1978) uses the term hybridity to describe a varied culture that might be the after-effect of colonialism. 'Hybridisation process involves a dynamic interplay between three aspects: identity construction, local power relationships and the local framework of meaning' (Yousfi, 2014: 415). Bhabha (1994a, 1994b) states that thirdspace could be the potential location to explain cultural hybridity, as it is the configuration of both the coloniser and colonised. It might also be the location to understand the postcolonial translation of strategies. Another effect of colonialism is mimicry, in which the colonised society imitate the coloniser's, in for example, culture, language or architecture. Bhabha (1994b: 86) points out that 'Colonial mimicry is the desire for a reformed, recognisable Other, as a subject of difference that is almost the same, but not quite'.

Among the effects of interference in postcolonial space is the domination of visual experience, using vision as a primary sense. It is strengthened by, for example, naming and renaming of places to demonstrate power and control over space. Further, the perspectival vision became the coloniser's principle concerning spatial representation. Surveillance also became a strategy of European dominance; this provides an elevated viewpoint to the viewer of the objectives of the colonised people. However, surveillance may also be regarded as postcolonial destruction, as the frame for the vision may not cover the cultural centre widely enough. Geography and its boundary became a technique for controlling space and an important tool in presenting the cultural and economic motives of the colonisers (Ashcroft, 2001).

Language has also become an important mode of representation to establish the concept of space as a site of imperial encounters. Pratt (1992) indicates how narratives were used in travel writing by the colonisers to tell stories about the colonised and the empire. To Pratt, language is part of transculturation, that takes place when one tries to negotiate and appropriate the exchange of culture between the colonisers and the colonised. According to Ashcroft (2001), colonialism also brings with it a sense of displacement to the people, whether they are those who are using the language as the first language, or to people who use the language as second or third language. The place seems to be conceived differently when narrated through writing, compared to what is being experienced by the colonised people. For people who experience displacement, their place may not necessarily be a physical place in a particular location. The place may be situated in the family, community or even society, and it could be denoted by symbolic elements, for example, a shared culture, and shared ethnicity.

Moving back to the concept of hybridity and thirdspace, several authors have applied Lefebvre's (1991) spatial triad in their studies to examine the development of a site in a postcolonial city. Economic, political, and social forces exist in the city, which in turn affect the negotiation of identity and the way space could be appropriated. Ng et al. (2010) suggest that a site experiences changes over a period of time, with its new spatial practice, newly conceived space and new lived space. However, it may be useful to find out how the lived experience of all users occupying the city is taken care of, instead of just concentrating on certain stakeholders. Cartier (1997) also applies Lefebvre's (1991) spatial triad in her study and finds that a historic site could be a representational space or a lived space, where people create the meaning of space and place through their daily activities.

The thirdspace in postcolonial representation is likely to deal with power relations. Samman (2013) aligns her study with Lefebvre's (1991) theory to understand further how space is being perceived, conceived and lived, by providing access to the mode of production and power that relates to the production of space. She mentions that in each type of space referred to by Lefebvre, different people hold power and influence the everyday tactics of the people and how space works. Wolf (2000) in the other hand, argues that the colonisers tended to show their power and authority by means of separating themselves from the colonised society by using dual oppositions, for example, self/other.

2.8.2 Postcolonial heritage

Postcolonial heritage is often characterised by a complex interweaving of colonial heritage and memories. It not only refers to the tangible dimensions, such as monuments and buildings but is also seen in the intangible heritage in many ways, for example language and place names. Heritage plays a significant role in defining the relationship between postcolonial and colonial power, as it has symbolic and emotional value (Marschall, 2008). The sociocultural encounters and the inclusion of new ideologies, technologies, and other external influences from colonisers impact on culture and heritage. In a study undertaken by Dalal (2011) on Native American people and the European colonialists, he points out that there are negative impacts of colonial contact on the cultural heritage of native people's belief and practices. The impact began subtly after years of contact and trading, for example on how mythological stories have been altered to include the existence of colonisers as part of the cast. The colonisers probably failed to understand the native beliefs and ways of life, therefore denying them the right to these practices. The impact was great and is still being felt after a long time.

Although the culture may survive, it is still being subjected to intrusion via tourism, exploitation and modern development, processes that are still threatening the people's religion and identity. The positive impact of colonial contact, though, is the way the people adapted to the new elements and perhaps were more prepared for challenges, and more protective in preserving what is left of their beliefs and practices. The impact of colonialism may have been significant and affects how people react to the postcolonial heritage. The study on the shifting representation of heritage from the colonial period to

the postcolonial period could explain how time changes the relationship between the tangible heritage and intangible heritage values.

According to Marschall (2008), the attitude of the colonised society tends to change over time. During the colonial period, heritage may have been locally interpreted, however, after independence the attitude may change as a result of the people needing to develop their national identity. Years after decolonisation, attitudes towards heritage may change to a more ambitious viewpoint, with a new type of project being introduced. This may be the result of gaining a new spirit and confidence when the colonised people achieved independence. Memories from the colonial period also affect the way people deal with the postcolonial heritage. A study undertaken by Marschall (2008) suggests that there are several ways of dealing with colonial heritage. Her study in Africa indicates that one way is by the destruction and removal of the colonial heritage and adoption of new symbols of heritage, which happens where a high degree of hatred of the former coloniser exists. The second method is where the colonised people accepted what has been built and left for them. Some colonial legacies became tolerated as people found that, for instance, the colonial heritage buildings are useful to them regarding their function as administrative buildings or as landmarks for a town. The postcolonial society could also use the colonial heritage as a symbolic representation of the group identity. They were part of the once colonised nation; therefore, some may feel that removal of heritage could be a threat to their identity as well.

Colonial architecture and urbanism are seen as one way in which the colonial rulers express their power and domination. Often institutional buildings such as police stations, town hall, courts, prisons and schools are built to strengthen the colonial political domination. Demissie (2012: 1) conceives colonial architecture as an image of the 'fantasy, grandeur and arrogance' of the colonial powers. New towns were built and designed according to the colonial system and approach. In her study on the European colonisation of Africa, Demissie (2012) identifies strategies on how colonisers plan to colonise a territory. First, the colonisers will establish garrisons in many places around the area to be colonised. Normally, garrisons would then be grown as a city of trade, defence, and civic life. Colonial powers also use these cities to test their architectural techniques for restricting the mobility of local geography. Secondly, the colonial powers put great emphasis on architectural design. Finally, the role of architecture and urban planning is said to provide the basis for greater power for the colonisers. However, along the way, there was exploitation of labourers in building new towns, railway tracks, and mining ports. There were also local people who became marginalised and relocated out of towns to give way to modernisation and urbanism. This has had effects on their social well-being and the way the local communities perceived heritage.

In many postcolonial countries, there are different ways in which the colonial heritage is being treated. One of the most common acts is by adaptive reuse – a type of conservation to create new hotels and cafés, for example in Kuala Lumpur (Al-Obaidi *et al.*, 2017). Some other buildings in India were left forgotten in deteriorating conditions, which always results in erasure (Hannam and Diekmann, 2011). Tourism also affects the colonial heritage. The colonial heritage in Macau was sanitised and reinterpreted by

tourist guides, depending on the geographical background of the tourists (Wong, 2013). Another example is the case of the postcolonial historic city of Vigan, which suffered the effects of rising tourism development, especially after it was listed as one of the Seven Wonder Cities of the World in 2014. Lamarca and Lamarca's (2017) study finds that tourism has positive and negative social impacts on the residents in Vigan, where the benefits are greater than the negative impacts. Meanwhile, Boyle, Serulle, Cruz and Banarjee (2018) look into how the Dominican Republic improved the infrastructure of the city for the benefit of the tourism industry in the colonial city of Santo Domingo. The city offers upgraded infrastructure so that tourists will gain more satisfaction when visiting the city, spend more time there and come back again. The next section will discuss the multicultural identity that is the product of colonialism.

2.9 Multicultural Identity

Multiculturalism occurs mainly as a result of forced or voluntary migration of people from one country to another country, or within countries, mainly for reasons of finding work, colonialism, and looking for better opportunities. However, it could also occur as a result of the internal movement of people due to changes in policy within a country. A multicultural society is known for its ethnic communities, ethnic businesses, multiple languages, diverse patterns of settlement, social institutions and history. The existence of a multicultural society with a diversity of ways of life, customs and beliefs undoubtedly has its challenges. Multiculturalism relates very much to the issue of identity, which could be a symbol of pride, security, and feelings of belonging, but also a source of fear, shame, and insecurity. Ashworth *et al.* (2007) believe that identities are always in a discourse of inclusion vs exclusion and conflict between factions:

stronger/weaker, dominant/less dominant, important/less important, majority/minority, insider/outsider, and so on. The formation of identity is a social process that involves power relations, affects the interpretation of identity, and is biased in constructing history. Identity is also fragmented and thus not unified, especially when we are facing issues of political commitment. Therefore, just like heritage, identity is said to be a fluid, non-static, dynamic process and is continuously being produced (Graham and Howard, 2008a; Saenz and Yamada, 2010).

Anderson (1983: 5-6) coined the term 'imagined political community' to define a nation, which is integrally limited and sovereign. It is 'imagined' because most of the citizens of even a small nation do not know each other. However, they have an idea of their communion. A multicultural society is also referred to as an 'imagined community' when the multicultural identity is formed by the state government to ensure that people of different backgrounds are united and give respect to the national agenda. Hall (2007) also suggests that 'imagined communities' are formed as they share and understand the idea of a nation. The understanding of national identity is often debated, especially concerning what should be included or excluded. Gsir (2014: 2) suggests that social interactions between the immigrants and host country populations could be in the form of 'intermarriages, interethnic friendship, interethnic relations in workplaces, and encounters in the neighbourhood'. It depends on contextual factors that are related to the host country, for example on the degree of acceptance, and opportunities for encounters.

In a multicultural society, interpretation of the cultural heritage tends to be diversified and complex. This is because each ethnic group has its unique culture that it can be very

proud of and which is still being practised. West (2010) believes that multiculturalism could be one factor for a country to reassess and in order to perceive its heritage, and how outsiders view it. Similarly, Smith (2006) claims that heritage is an important tool for determining and verifying the identity, experience, and social and cultural position of a person. Heritage and identity are interrelated and could be important markers of place identities if being efficiently communicated (Kavaratzis and Ashworth, 2005). Urry (1995) argues that in a sense, all cultures are inauthentic and contrived, as they are continually recreated, as results of the movement of people and images across national boundaries. Therefore, it is not an easy task to reassess heritage in a multicultural society, as every ethnic group will be championing their own customs. A study in the United Kingdom by Littler and Naidoo (2004) found that understanding of the concept of multiculturalism in the heritage sector seems lacking, although there are initiatives trying to emphasise inclusion and diversity.

Williamson (2013) suggests that understanding the spatial practice of the multicultural society in relation to conceived space as per the official's perspective, could entangle the issues of complexity of space, migration and diversity of culture. Therefore, the concept of multiculturalism relates to hybridity, which could be used to explain how complexity, diversity and differences of people's identity could be appropriated and negotiated and how power could be mediated.

2.10 Conclusion

In this literature review chapter, I have provided the theoretical background for addressing the objectives of this study. Cultural heritage is a dynamic and interactive

process. However, so far, research about the relationship between the WH designation city and its local communities has hardly discussed its complexity through the lens of space and place. According to Tucker and Carnegie (2014) WH is a space of 'multiple voices' and they argued that UNESCO's universal values need to be inclusive and embrace alternative meanings and interpretations about place. As the term community is a contested term (Turner and Tomer, 2013) and loosely defined in the WHC and its operational guidelines, this study will explore the relationships by taking into account all the related communities who occupy the site, for example the site manager, traders, residents, and local authority. Framing the discussion in terms of space and place allows me to reflect on the complex interrelations of spatialisations, practices, embodiment, representations and habitus, with the involvement of power relations, which are directly and indirectly relate to the components of cultural heritage. Consequently, in-depth analysis needs to be narrowed down to a particular context.

In the next chapter, I will look into the George Town WHS for a deeper understanding on its background – the geographical location, population demographic, history, urban morphology, socioeconomic structure, and the multicultural identities. I will also discuss the heritage and conservation movement in Penang, and the issues and challenges after being designated as a WHS. The specific context of the study – the 'Street of Harmony' – will also be introduced.

CHAPTER 3

CONTEXT OF THE STUDY: GEORGE TOWN WORLD HERITAGE SITE

3.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces the context of this research, which is the George Town WHS, Malaysia, designated as a WHS by UNESCO on July 7, 2008. The chapter starts with general information about the site, its demographic factors, history, urban morphology and settlement pattern, socioeconomic development and multicultural identity. Then it moves to the journey of George Town in achieving WH status and touches on its outstanding universal value in terms of its tangible and intangible heritage. The conservation policies, as well as the management approaches adopted, are also discussed. I then locate the specific area of my study, which is the 'Street of Harmony'.

3.2 Background of George Town, Penang

George Town was known as Tanjung Penaga (Cape Penaigre), with reference to the very spot on which Light first landed upon his arrival in Penang, which was full of penaga (dilo oil) trees. It is also the spot at which Fort Cornwallis is located; the fort was built in 1786 by the British East India Company (hereafter referred to as EIC). Penang previously belonged to the Sultanate of Kedah, but it was ceded to the EIC by Sultan Muhammad Jiwa of Kedah in 1786, as an exchange to gain protection by the British from former Siam and Burma. On August 11, 1786, Light renamed the island as Prince of Wales Island, in honour of the King of Britain. Tanjung Penaga, which lies at the eastern end of the island, was renamed as 'Georgetown', commemorating the name of King George III of Britain.

George Town was fast becoming a trading post of the EIC, which practised a free trade policy. In 1826, Penang became part of the Straits Settlements alongside Melaka and Singapore, and Penang was made the administration capital before Singapore replaced it in 1832. The port of Penang continued to thrive and prosper with the boom of the tin mining industry in Perak. The development of George Town during the first century after its founding was attributed to the high entrepreneurial spirit of the early migrant communities, and their determination to establish it as a new place to make a living. In 1867 the Straits Settlements were made a Crown Colony. Penang grew rapidly as a free trading port until the late 19th century and was also famous as the point of embarkation for hajj pilgrimage to Mecca by ships. From the years 1941 to 1945, Penang and the rest of the Malay Peninsula were under Japanese occupation. British reoccupied Malaya and took it over from the Japanese in 1945, and Penang became a state of the Federation of Malaya in 1948. Penang stayed under British colonial rule until the Federation of Malaya gained independence on August 31, 1957. George Town was recognised as a city in the same year of independence, on account that its population had reached 250,000 people, and Penang had then become one of the 13 states within Malaysia.

3.2.1 Geographical location

Located approximately 325 kilometres north of Kuala Lumpur, the capital city of Malaysia, George Town is the state capital of Penang which is situated in the north of Peninsular Malaysia (Figure 3.1). The state of Penang comprises the Penang Island (previously known as the Pearl of the Orient) and Seberang Perai (previously known as the Province Wellesley), which is part of the Peninsular Malaysia mainland. The city is served by a seaport, and the North-South Highway, as well as an international airport.

Figure 3.1: Map showing the location of Malaysia in relation to the Straits of Malacca (left) and location of Penang and Melaka (right).
Source: Special Area Plan – George Town Historic Cities of the Straits of Malacca (Town and Country Planning Department Pulau Pinang, 2016).

3.2.2 Population demographics

There have been contrasting accounts in the literature of the inhabitation of Penang when Francis Light (hereafter referred to as Light), the founder of Penang, landed on the island in 1786. One is that Penang was inhabited long before the arrival of Light (Mohamed et al. 2006). It is believed that there were already permanent Malay communities in Penang engaged in fishing and paddy cultivation. This has been made clear by historians, citing how Light's team had scouted out the area and established a military post a year before his arrival in Tanjung Penaga, during which time the team had come across some Malay settlements along the coast as well as near the hill. In his journal, Light mentiond that he met about 30 Malay people after four days of arrival in Penang, who then become part of his workforce to clear the land and form a new

settlement. Mills (1966: 37–38) claimed that at the time when Light landed in Penang, the area was an uninhabited wooded area.

Light focused his full attention on developing the place until it turned into a thriving community within a few months after its occupation. Only three months after he arrived at the island, Light was reported saying ‘our inhabitants increase very fast, Choolias, Chinese and Christians. They are already disputing the ground, everyone building as fast as we can’ (Town, 1966). According to Cheah (2012), the first census was taken in December 1788; it recorded 1,335 people concentrated around George Town. Other than the Malays, the inhabitants included people from Madagascar, Malabar, Madras, Bengal, Batavia, as well as Macau. George Town was also populated by Armenians, British, Chinese, Achehnese, and Arabs among others, who came for trading purposes or to work as labour during the British colonial period. The population in Penang Island grew from 6,937 in 1797, to 10,310 in 1801 (Leith, 1804: 29). By 1835, there were 40,207 inhabitants with Malays, Indians, and Chinese comprising the majority of the population. Indians outnumbered Chinese in the population until 1891 when a big wave of Chinese immigrants arrived in Penang mainly for tin mining, commercial and trade activities and since then the numbers of Chinese increased rapidly (Hoyt, 1991).

The 2010 Population and Housing Census (Department of Statistics Malaysia, 2010) stated the population of Penang was 1.576 million, with 708,000 living in Penang Island. Out of the total population, 671,300 (42.6%) are Chinese; 636,200 (40.4%) are Malays; 6,300 (4%) non-Malay Bumiputera; 156,800 (9.95%) are Indians; 4,400 (2.79%) other races; and non-Malaysian citizens 101,000 (6.41%). Bumiputera means

the ‘sons of the soil’, which include the Malays and other ethnic groups, for example, Iban, Bidayuh and Kadazan which are native to Malaysia. During the colonial period, apart from the main population groups constituted by Malays, Indians, Chinese and the Europeans, there were also communities of Siamese, Burmese, Filipino, Ceylonese, Eurasian, Japanese, Sumatran, Arab, Armenian, as well as Persians. Even though most of these communities no longer exist, they left their legacies in the street and place names such as the Eastern & Oriental Hotel, Armenian Street, and Acheen Street. There was even a Jewish enclave (many of them of Caucasian and Indian origin from India) in Penang before World War II, but the community became extinct in 2011 (Wong, 2013). During World War II, Penang was occupied by the Japanese empire from 1941 to 1945.

3.2.3 Urban morphology and settlement pattern

George Town was planned according to the gridiron township layout, in which the streets are laid in a simple, straight line as a way to speed up the process of building the town. This is a practice adopted by the British colonials in their quest for opening new town (Hassan, 2009). In general, these new towns are characterised by rows of streets at right angles to one another, forming a grid. Initially, the British colonialists regarded the area as a temporary settlement, as they were interested solely in its economic potential. However, things took a different turn when the potentials of George Town presented themselves to the colonials, causing the British to decide to construct buildings on grand scales and also monuments. Popham’s 1798 map provides information on the early topography as well as the urban pattern of the settlements in George Town. Before being cleared off, levelled and filled, the site was initially a swampy area. The town centre is bounded by Light Street, Beach Street, Chulia Street and Pitt Street. As it is

apparent on the map (see Figure 3.2), the spatial structure of the town has developed in accordance with the way the early settlers formed their neighbourhoods or quarters, which was very much influenced by their respective cultural practices.

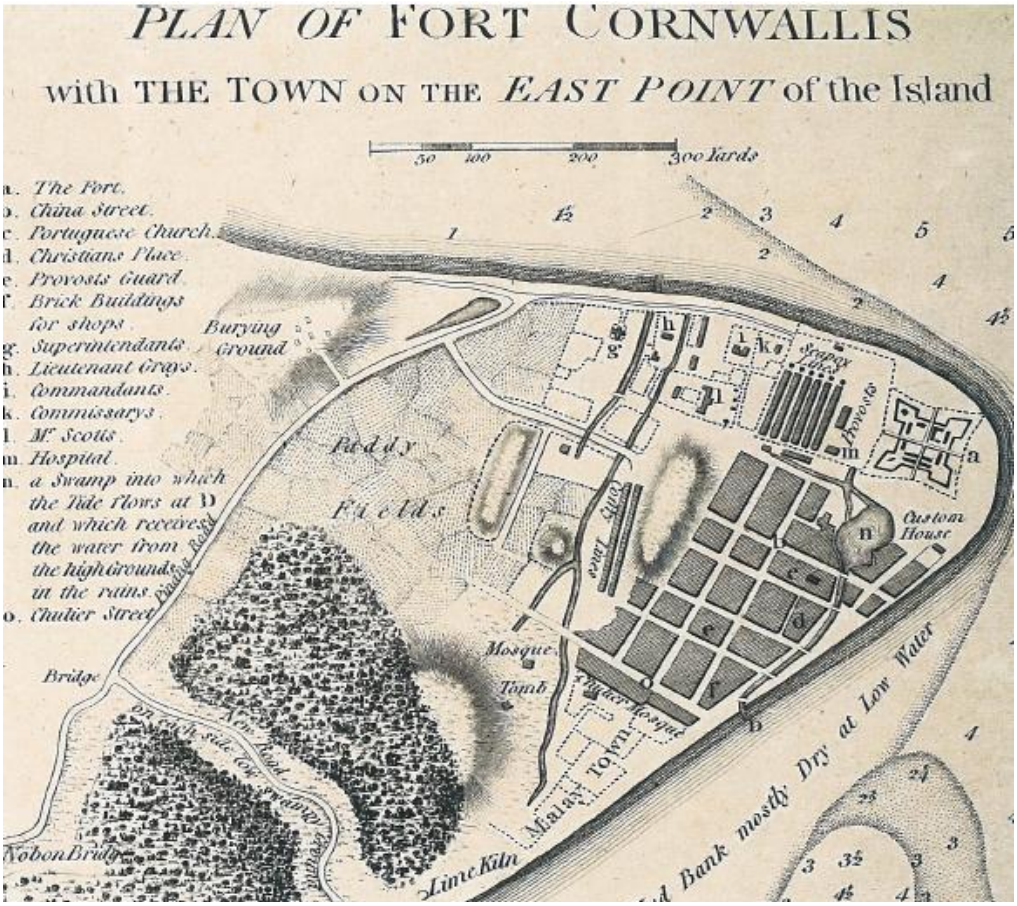

Figure 3.2: Popham's map of George Town dated 1798 shows the topography and the gridiron settlement layout laid by Francis Light.
Source: Special Area Plan – George Town Historic Cities of the Straits of Malacca (Town and Country Planning Department Pulau Pinang, 2016).

More often than not, the streets were not only used to define the character of the area but also acted as boundaries to distinguish the areas belonging to different ethnic groups, even though the demarcation was quite subtle. The 'divide and rule' policy by the British colonialists has been the factor behind the separation of these settlements according to the different ethnic groups. The autocratic nature of the policy was made

by giving recognition to the leaders of each ethnic group, which were called the 'Penghulu' for the Malays and 'Kapitan' or Captain, for the Indian Muslims and Chinese. Under the policy, each of the ethnic groups was allowed to define its public space. They were also given the freedom to manage their own cultural, economic and social activities, as well as practising their religion freely (Hassan, 2009).

In their writings, Hassan and Che Yahaya (2012) mentioned that China Street was the centre around which the earliest Chinese quarter started to develop. Their houses were mainly built along the gridlines surrounding 'kongsi' (clan houses) or temples. The Chinese consisted of four major groups, namely the Cantonese, Hakka, Teochew and Hokkien, all of which originated from Southern China. Each of the groups had its kongsis, temples and associations. The European quarter, on the other hand, is located on the northern side of the city, in proximity to Fort Cornwallis, the administrative centre and churches. The location provided residents with a sense of security, particularly as it is near to the fort and the police station. Meanwhile, the Indian quarter was located at Chulia Street, with the Kapitan Keling Mosque as the centre for the Indian Muslim community (the Chuliah), and the Sri Mahamariamman Temple serving the Hindu community (Figure 3.3). Rows of residential buildings and shophouses were built on available land fronting the street, which eventually hid the buildings that were built earlier, such as the bungalows and their compounds.

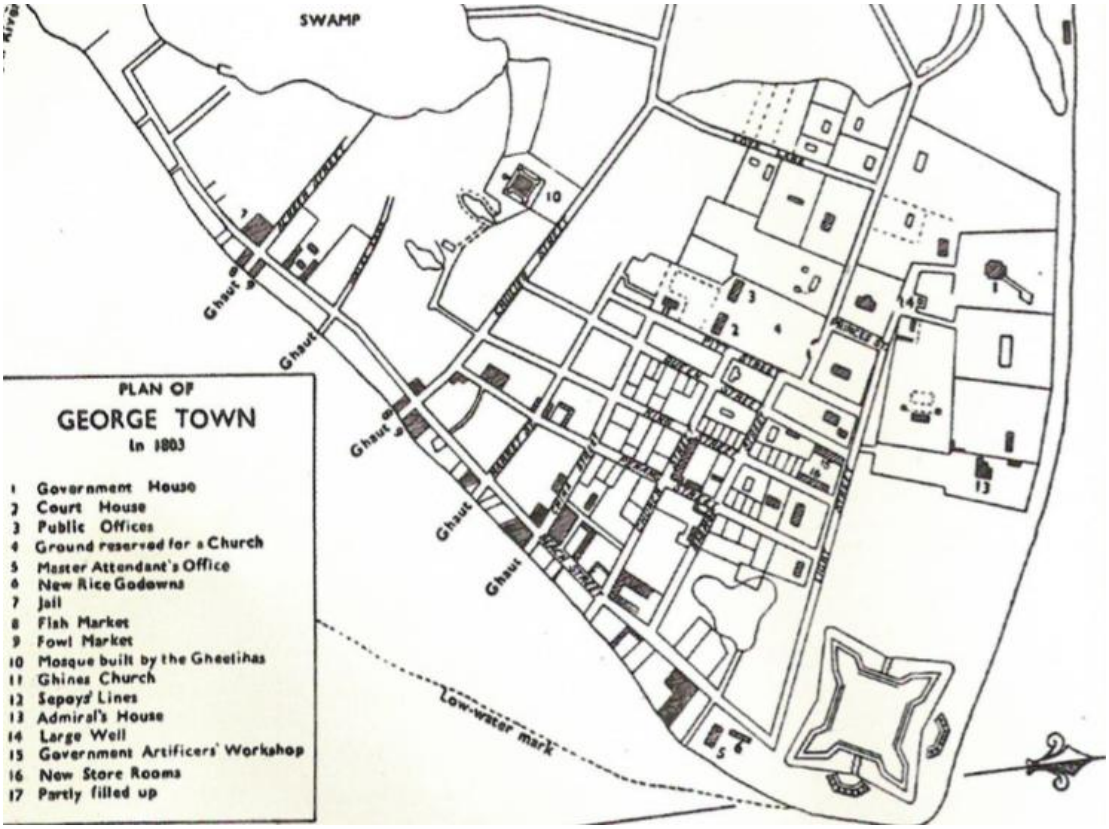

Figure 3.3: Plan of George Town in 1803 as illustrated by George Leith, redrawn by the Penang Survey Department for the City Council, Penang. Seen here is the location of Kapitan Keling Mosque, noted at number 10: Mosque built by the Cheelihas (Chooliahs).
Source: the Booklet of Kapitan Keling Mosque's 215th anniversary (Nasution, 2016a).

Further to the southern part of the town centre, near Chulia Street is the Malay quarter, also known as the Malay town. This area was located near the paddy fields and wetlands. The Acheen Street Malay Mosque (also known as Masjid Melayu Lebuh Acheh) founded in the year 1808 was the landmark of this settlement, in which the community gathered. It was also the centre of the hajj travel pilgrimage that thrived during the early to mid 19th century where the pilgrims sailed to Jeddah, Saudi Arabia by ship. Figure 3.4 shows an example of advertising material about the religious journeys. The hajj business in George Town declined as the ships were replaced by aeroplanes in the 1970s, and the management of pilgrims was taken over by the

Malaysia government through Lembaga Tabung Haji or known as Hajj Pilgrimage Board.

Figure 3.4: Hajj pilgrimage advertisement.
Source: Perniagaan Haji di Pulau Pinang dan Dokumentasi Sultan Kedah (Abdullah, Aziz and Ahmad, 2015)

According to Hassan (2009), land reclamation works started in the 1880s when the British filled the swampy area near the eastern coastal area to make the development of ports and trade possible. In the year 1883, the reclamation works continued to cover the coastal area at Penang River. More land reclamations, as well as canalisations, have taken place driven by the rapid development of the city, with the ghauts (steps leading to the water) stretching towards the Weld Quay as the new waterfront doubled with the construction of piers and jetties. The colonial period footprint of the George Town WHS remains relatively intact, although, with the scarcity of land that is developable on the island, there is intense pressure to build. Figure 3.5 shows a panorama of George Town in the early 20th century and in 2013 showing the changes in the city due to rapid development.

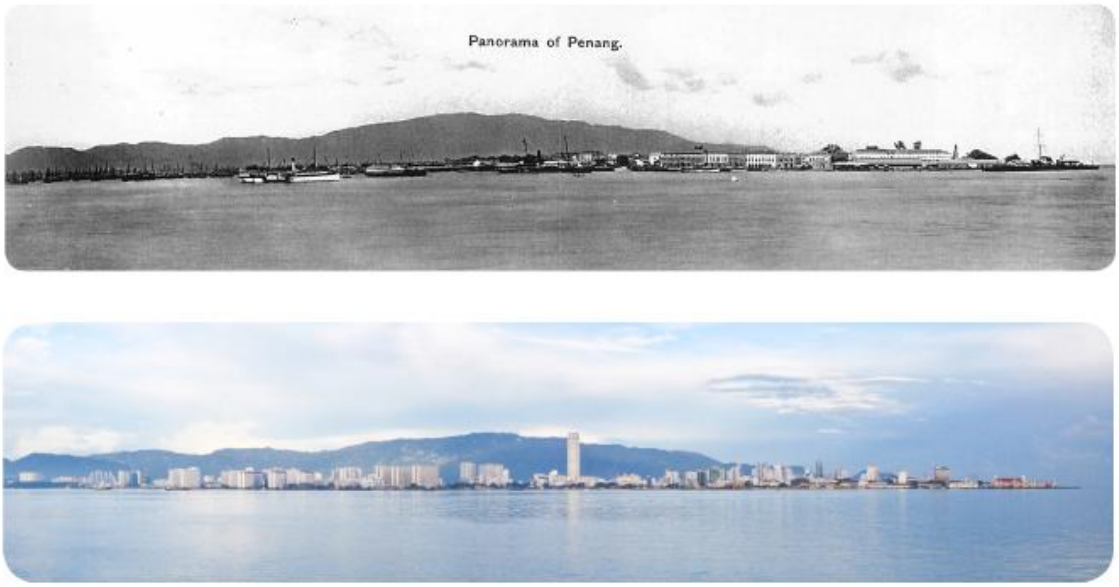

Figure 3.5: George Town in the early 20th century (top) and in 2013 (below).
Source: Special Area Plan – George Town Historic Cities of the Straits of Malacca. (Town and Country Planning Department Pulau Pinang, 2016).

3.2.4 Socioeconomic structure

George Town became a free trading port city under the British colonial system and was especially known as the place for obtaining goods such as rubber, tin, coconut, and spices, as well as other resources. The status has attracted many traders from around the world, for example, China, India, Siam (now Thailand), Britain, Singapore and the Arab countries; some of whom have decided to stay on and make a home in the newfound land. The rapid economic growth has resulted in the immigration of many labourers from India, including Indian convicts. They were distributed to work in various sectors and could be found working to improve the sanitation and contributing to improving the inadequate urban infrastructure by constructing roads and drainage within the transportation as well as public health sector. Some labourers have also found employment as private servants, and some were recruited into civil and military services. The ‘divide and rule’ policy introduced by the British segregated the Malays to

settle in rural and village areas, the Chinese in urban areas, and the Indians in rubber estates as well as other rural areas.

By the end of 19th century, George Town became the main port in the south-east, making it very cosmopolitan and it had wide-reaching relationships with other countries in the world. The status of George Town as a free trade port lasted for 183 years (1786–1969). The status declined when Penang was included into the 'principal customs area of Malaysia' (Athukorala, 2014: 3). As a result, the economy declined rapidly, many people were unemployed, and some migrated elsewhere to find a better living. The Penang Development Corporation (PDC) was founded in 1969 to start an urban redevelopment programme as part of its initiatives to ensure economy recovery through tourism, manufacturing and the industrial sectors. The industrialisation programme in Penang took off with the establishment of the country's first Free Trade Zone, resulting in the recovery of the economy, which subsequently led to the rapid growth of Penang. Penang has also become part of the Greater Penang Conurbation programme that was introduced under Malaysia's Tenth Malaysia Plan for the year 2011-2015 (Economic Planning Unit, 2010), which includes the island and the mainland Seberang Perai, and part of Kedah, the neighbouring state.

3.2.5 The multicultural identity

From its early days, through its colonial period, Penang was always known as a place where multiculturalism was accepted and practised. Intermarriages have brought about many changes in the ethnic compositions of George Town. As the early migrants mainly consisted of males, intermarriage was quite common during the colonial period.

It has resulted in interethnic assimilation, and among the three most important communities are the Straits Chinese, Jawi Peranakan and the Arab-Malays. The Straits Chinese are also known as the Baba-Nyonya or the Peranakan. They are generally of Chinese origin but were born and raised in the Straits Settlement. Their culture is a combination of Chinese as well as Malay, although in general, the community does not practise intermarriage. Jawi Peranakan of Penang are of Indian origin, but were locally born and raised, and exist due to intermarriage between the South Indian Muslim men and the Malay women. Though they still practise much of their South Indian culture, they have blended quite well into the Malay community. The Arab-Malay community was initially Arabs who have come to the Straits Settlements either directly from Hadhramaut of Yemen or indirectly from India as well as other parts of the Malay Archipelago and became a significant community in the 19th century. Although their community came into being from intermarriage between the Arab men and the local women, they preferred to distinguish themselves and their children as Arabs. However, over the years, they have now identified themselves as Malays.

The encounter of cultures between the people has resulted in the creation of new performing arts, such as the 'boria' (a performance of Indian origin that incorporates elements of music, dance and comic sketches) and 'bangsawan' (a Malay theatre that includes elements of drama, dance and music). Most of the migrants have brought with them traditions from home to be practised in this newfound land. There was also a downside to all the good things resulting from this cultural assimilation. The Chinese Secret Society, for example, was set up to take care of the welfare and safety of the members of the Chinese community. Following this, several groups belonging to the

Malay communities were influenced by the idea and became involved as well – lured into gambling and opium smoking, which were originally the habits of the Chinese. In terms of religious practice, the idea of believing in shrines and performing a vow like the Indians was absorbed by the Malay Muslims. Though to some extent the cultural influence was against the teachings of Islam, it was very strong at the time of the colonial period and was in general widespread (Musa, 1999).

In spite of some incidents of tension, the multi-ethnic population had been co-existing quite harmoniously. According to Mohamed et al. (2006) and Ooi (2015), one of the earliest incidents of discord was the Penang Riots which took place in 1867. It involved two main Chinese secret societies (the Tua Pek Kong and the Ghee Hin), each of which had supporters from Malay secret societies (the Red Flag and the White Flag). Known for its violence, the fight resulted in many properties being burned down and hundreds of people being killed. Another riot took place on January 2, 1957, due to a misunderstanding between the Malays and Chinese, when several Malays were believed to have attempted to stop a section of a chingay parade. It resulted in five deaths, and fortunately, the riot was resolved in 10 days (Saravanamuttu and Ooi, 2010).

After gaining independence on August 31, 1957, the Malaysian government still faced problems in realising racial integration throughout the country. Attributed to factors such as political affiliation, issues of racial unity existed because there was still a significant economic gap, especially between the Chinese and the Malays, creating an imbalance in opportunities on education and social aspects, as well as differences in culture and faiths. Another racial riot took place on May 13, 1969, which affected the

whole country, and called for a state of emergency to be declared. In Penang, the sparks of the 1969 riot had begun two years before it had officially hit the rest of the country, as a result of misunderstandings, rumours and small fights between the Malay and the Chinese communities. The cause was a socioeconomic imbalance between the bumiputera and non-bumiputera. The climax was tremendous racial unrest in Kuala Lumpur, costing hundreds of lives and destruction of properties.

As a result, in 1970 the government under the then Prime Minister introduced the New Economic Policy (hereafter known as NEP) for the Malaysian government. It was seen as a way of combating economic imbalances for all Malaysians, minimising the rate of poverty in the country and achieving national unity and harmony. The National Cultural Policy (hereafter referred to as NCP) was also introduced in 1970 which emphases national unity following the 1969 racial riot. The main principles are the national culture must be based on Malay culture, that suitable elements from other cultures may be accepted as part of the national culture, and Islam is an important component in moulding the national culture (Government of Malaysia, 1970). However, the NCP is not popular and rarely remembered as it was seen as non-inclusive and undemocratic. The federal government introduced the National Development Policy (NDP) in 1991 to gain economic growth and making sure that all levels of society gets the benefits. The ten year plan was replaced by the National Vision Policy (NVP) in 2001. All these national policy frameworks have focused on national unity, economic growth and social equity among all Malaysians.

Malaysia's multiculturalism is using a salad bowl model, which means different ethnic groups are living together while practising their own culture and acknowledging the cultural differences. According to the Malaysian constitution, Malay or Bahasa Malaysia is recognised as the national language, Islam is the official religion, Malay rulers (for example Sultan) are recognised as the head of state and head of Islam. Malay holds a special position in the country compared to the other ethnic groups, which is the result of negotiations between the Malay, Chinese and Indian political parties (UMNO, Malaysian Chinese Association or MCA and Malaysian Indian Congress or MIC) before independence, in exchange for citizenship to the non-Malays.

3.3 Heritage and Conservation Movements in Penang

The awareness of the importance of conservation in Penang started in the 1970s with the introduction of a conservation policy for George Town's urban area, which was then incorporated as part of the town plan (Tam, 2012). The Penang Heritage Trust (PHT), a non-governmental organisation established in 1986, was an important pioneer in the heritage and conservation field in Penang who adopts a bottom-up approach in their mission. The membership-based organisation is led by several passionate individuals on heritage and conservation. Demolitions of some heritage buildings in the early 1990s have led to increased awareness among Penang civil society. Conservation projects have attracted a lot of attention, and this has resulted in the first significant building conservation of the Syed Al-Attas Mansion by the State Government in the year 1993. The project was initiated by the PHT together with the Municipal Council of Penang Island or Majlis Perbandaran Pulau Pinang (hereafter referred to as MPPP) and was financially supported by the federal government with technical assistance from the

French Embassy. However, during that time, people were not ready and did not understand the importance of conservation; thus after several years, the mansion became dilapidated again (Nasution, 2016).

The conservation movement in Penang is also very much driven and strengthened by the strong voices of the local communities or the 'Penangites'. Concerns on the limited amount of developable land in Penang, especially in the island, the increased awareness of losing their heritage assets. The success stories of conservation projects, has also been the driving forces behind this. One important event took place in the mid-1990s, where a Malay community fought to keep their homes from being demolished and the community dispersed for a new development by the Muslim Religious Council of Penang or Majlis Agama Islam Negeri Pulau Pinang (hereafter referred to as MAINPP). The community, which lives within proximity of the Acheen Street Malay Mosque, turned to the PHT and Badan Warisan Malaysia (the Heritage of Malaysia Trust) for help. The villagers were aware of their limitations in preparing all the necessary documents as well as their limited knowledge of the procedures involved in this matter and asked for assistance. It was worth all their efforts in the end as they managed to retain their settlement while getting an assurance that the authority respected the wishes of the descendants of the original donors of the land.

However, there were also cases where it was too late to take action due to ignorance as well as political connections on the side of the developers. One example of this is the loss of one of the jetty communities, namely the Koays. According to Loh-Lim (2011: 4), the community was the 'last remaining intact Hui Chinese community of Muslim

origins' after the diaspora from China in the 19th century. The jetty and dwellings were demolished mercilessly, leaving the state government to blame the non-governmental organisation (NGO) for not informing them earlier about the issue. Looking at it from a positive side, conservation projects in Penang have been used as a benchmark, not only for other local conservation projects, but the rest of the country as well. Two of the most remarkable projects were the conservation of Cheong Fatt Tze Mansion and the Han Jiang Ancestral Temple.

3.3.1 Journey towards the World Heritage status

The journey towards becoming a WHS began in 1998, when George Town was nominated under two separate dossiers, along with Melaka, on the tentative list of the UNESCO World Heritage Centre. According to Nasution (2012), in 1998 Richard Engelhardt, the then Regional Adviser for Culture in Asia and the Pacific, had advised the Malaysian government on the serial nomination of Melaka and George Town. Engelhardt had witnessed the multiculturalism and diversity of cultures during his visit to Penang and thus proposed the nomination to strengthen Malaysia's bid. The idea to submit a joint nomination for Melaka and Penang came about at a Seminar on the Nomination of Cultural and Natural Heritage of Malaysia to the World Heritage List held in Penang on 28–29 July 1998.

Following the official consent from the respective state governments of Penang and Melaka, the Malaysian National Commission for UNESCO submitted a tentative list to the World Heritage Committee of UNESCO in November 2000. The tentative list served as an indication by the government of Malaysia, of its intention to submit for

joint nomination of the historic centres of Melaka and Penang. According to Koh (2016), the process of listing involved a lot of pressure from both the pro-heritage and the anti-heritage groups. The anti-heritage groups, for example, fought for new development, protested against retaining elements of the heritage and even went straight to complain to the federal government. There were a lot of arguments and negotiations along the way in the process of listing.

The joint nomination dossiers submitted in 2004 to WHC were rejected because they failed to fulfil the agency's requirements. The Malaysian government under the then Ministry of Culture, Arts and Heritage started to improve the dossiers in 2005. The revised nomination dossiers were then submitted in January 2007, and WHC certified the submission as complete in March 2008. Finally, on 7th of July 2008, the World Heritage Committee in its 32nd annual session inscribed both Melaka and George Town as World Heritage Sites, known as the 'Melaka and George Town: Historic Cities of the Straits of Malacca'. Simultaneously, this achievement signifies a starting point of a long-term process for maintaining the status. July 7, 2018, marked the 10th anniversary of George Town as WHS.

3.3.2 Attributes of the Outstanding Universal Value

The two historic cities are situated along the Straits of Malacca and have evolved in over 500 years as trading centres and settlements, benefitting from cultural exchanges between the East and the West. Influences from different parts of Asia as well as Europe have provided the cities with both tangible and intangible values. Listed below are the

criterions of the Outstanding Universal Value (hereafter referred as OUV) that qualify both George Town and Melaka for the inscription:

> Criterion (ii):
> Melaka and George Town represent exceptional examples of multi-cultural trading towns in East and Southeast Asia, forged from the mercantile and exchanges of Malay, Chinese, and Indian cultures and three successive European colonial powers for almost 500 years, each with its imprints on the architecture and urban form, technology and monumental art. Both towns show different stages of development and the successive changes over a long span of time and are thus complementary.
>
> Criterion (iii):
> Melaka and George Town are living testimony to the multi-cultural heritage and tradition of Asia, and European colonial influences. This multi-cultural tangible and intangible heritage is expressed in the great variety of religious buildings of different faiths, ethnic quarters, the many languages, worship and religious festivals, dances, costumes, art and music, food, and daily life.
>
> Criterion (iv):
> Melaka and George Town reflect a mixture of influences which have created a unique architecture, culture and townscape without parallel anywhere in East and South Asia. In particular, they demonstrate an exceptional range of shophouses and townhouses. These buildings show many different types and stages of development of the building type, some originating in the Dutch or Portuguese periods. (UNESCO, 2008b).

3.3.3 World Heritage Site boundary

Based on the Special Area Plan (hereafter referred to as SAP), the total land area for the site is 25.42 hectares, and it is divided into two sections, namely the Core and the Buffer Zone (see Figure 3.6 for George Town WHS boundary of Core and Buffer Zone).

The Core Zone: 109.38 hectares (42.16%):

> The George Town WHS covers an area of 109.38 hectares bound by the Straits of Malacca on the north-eastern cape of Penang Island, from Love Lane to the north-west and Gat Lebuh Melayu as well as Jalan Dr Lim Chwee Leong to the south-west corner. There are 1,894 historic buildings within this Core Zone aligned on four main streets of Pengkalan Weld, Lebuh Pantai, Jalan Masjid Kapitan Keling and Love Lane; as well as several perpendicular streets of Jalan Tun Syed Sheh Barakbah, Lebuh Light, Lebuh Bishop, Lebuh Gereja, Lebuh China, Lebuh Pasar, Lebuh Chulia, Lebuh Armenian and Lebuh Aceh.

The Buffer Zone: 150.04 hectares (57.84%):

> The Core Zone is protected by a Buffer Zone of 150.04 hectares (this does not include the sea buffer), bound by a stretch of sea area around the harbour, Jalan Dr Lim Chwee Leong to the southwest corner and Jalan Transfer to the north-west corner.
>
> (Town and Country Planning Department Pulau Pinang, 2016)

Figure 3.6: The Historic City of George Town, the boundary of Core and Buffer Zone and its coordinates.
Source: Special Area Plan – George Town Historic Cities of the Straits of Malacca (Town and Country Planning Department Pulau Pinang, 2016).

3.3.4 The tangible heritage assets

Based on the SAP (Town and Country Planning Department Pulau Pinang, 2016), there are 5,013 buildings in George Town WHS; a total of 2,569 buildings are located in the Core Zone, and 2,444 buildings in the Buffer Zone. The tangible assets include the Chinese Kongsi, clan jetties, religious buildings, warehouses or ‘godowns’, the shophouses, and administrative buildings. The Chinese Kongsi (see Figure 3.7) consist of buildings set within a courtyard with residential dwellings or shophouses. Each of the clan communities has set up a management system to maintain the security and maintenance of the common area.

Figure 3.7: Khoo Kongsi is a complex comprises of a temple, association building, clan dwellings, among others with intricate decorations and articulately embellished by craftsmen from China, built to serve as a 'clan house' of the Khoo family.
Source: The Author.

Clan jetties are built on stilts over the seawater and represent a major Chinese family clan name. Initially, they were constructed using timber, and over time, new materials have been introduced (Figure 3.8). The jetties have existed for nearly 100 years, but the general construction method remains the same. Within the typology of places of worship or religious buildings, George Town possesses a variety of structures that

include Hindu temples, mosques, Chinese temples as well as churches. It represents various religions practised by the multicultural community, and also serves as a place where the community gathers and socialise.

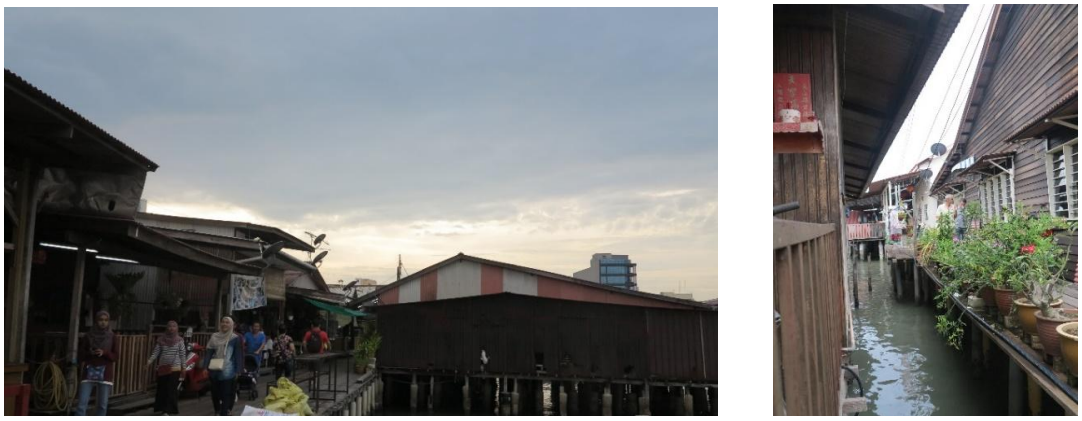

Figure 3.8: Chew jetty consists of houses, temples, and shops, among others.
Source: The Author.

Another building typology that is very dominant in George Town is the shophouse. As the name suggests, it served a dual function as a house as well as a shop. During the early days, most shops were managed by single male Chinese migrants, and the upper floor of the shop functioned as lodgings for the workers. In other instances, some shopkeepers resided in the shophouse with their families, where their shops were run as a family enterprise (Nasution and Berbar, 2012). Based on the SAP, there are six main shophouse styles in George Town, namely the Early Penang, Southern Chinese Eclectic, Early Straits Eclectic, the Late Straits Eclectic, Art Deco, as well as the Early Modern style (Figure 3.9). The warehouses or the ‘godowns’ were usually built along the coastline, acting as a symbol of trade and provided storage for goods. As explained in the SAP, lands near Beach Street were reclaimed in 1801 to give way for construction of the godowns and several other buildings built for trading purposes. At first, the godowns were also present further out to the sea, but due to developmental pressure,

they were built nearer to the coastline particularly when Victoria Street was built (see Figure 3.10).

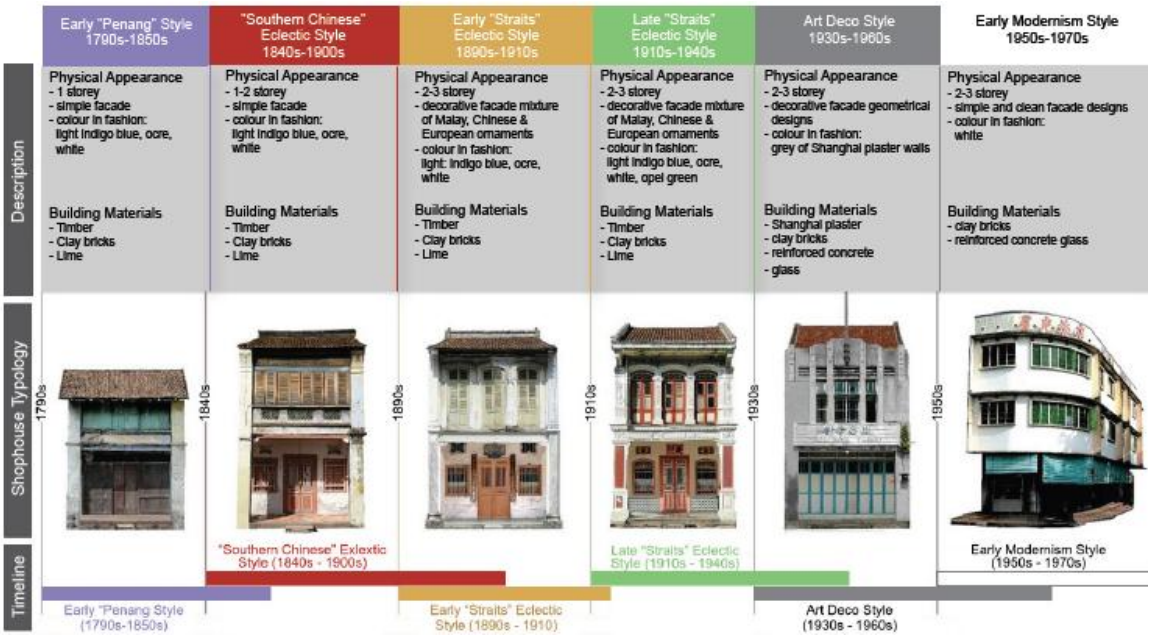

Figure 3.9: Six main architectural styles of shophouses in George Town with the influence of Chinese and British colonial.
Source: Special Area Plan – George Town Historic Cities of the Straits of Malacca (Town and Country Planning Department Pulau Pinang, 2016).

Figure 3.10: 1920s godown on Victoria Street which is still being used (left) and the interior of one of the godowns in Victoria Street (right).
Source: Special Area Plan – George Town Historic Cities of the Straits of Malacca (Town and Country Planning Department Pulau Pinang, 2016).

There are also administrative buildings, with Fort Cornwallis becoming the pioneer of the typology. Initially, the early buildings that were constructed under the British took reference and precedence directly from the architecture as well as the urban planning of their colonies in Calcutta and Madras, India. The EIC engineers dictated the architectural styles before the work was taken over from the trading company by the colonial administration. The City Hall, the Penang High Court and library, and police station, as well as the government houses, are just a few examples that epitomise this building typology (see Figure 3.11).

Figure 3.11: City Hall building (left) and Penang High Court and Library (right) which are of British colonial architectural style.
Source: Special Area Plan – George Town Historic Cities of the Straits of Malacca (Town and Country Planning Department Pulau Pinang, 2016).

Apart from the buildings on a grand scale and the monuments, there is also a unique type of structure known to the locals as the 'ottu kadai', which has also become part of the heritage and tourist attractions. It was first introduced by the immigrants from India in the 1930s, as a place for selling basic amenities to other migrants who came from India (Md Nasir, 2015). According to the Indian community, the 'ottu kadai' means a small shop that is tucked into a small space, built in-between rows of other shops (see Figure 3.12). Another unique style of architecture in George Town WHS is the Indo-

Malay bungalow, which can be found in the compound of the Acheen Street Malay Mosque (see Figure 3.13).

Figure 3.12: Ottu kadai in George Town selling cigarettes, soft drinks, snacks, among others.
Source: The Author.

Figure 3.13: The Indo-Malay bungalows located in the compound of Acheen Street Malay Mosque.
Source: The Author.

3.3.5 The intangible heritage

Based on the Directory of Traditional Trades and Occupations in George Town WHS (George Town World Heritage Incorporated, 2012), there were 611 traditional trades

and 305 artisans, with 26 out of 611 traditional trades more than 100 years old in George Town WHS. The rich intangible assets of Penang include festivals, rituals, food, language, and music, as well as lifestyle. The city is vibrant with different cultural groups living side by side while practising their rituals and tradition. Nasution (2016b) claims that the communities are the actual intangible heritage of Penang that make the town unique. However, due to development, some old communities have been evicted to gain short-term economic benefits. Artisans practising traditional and endangered trades provide another intangible quality of Penang; craftsmen make handmade joss sticks, songkok (a Malay hat), and traditional jewellery, as well as carve handmade signboards. The Penang Living Heritage Awards, which was introduced by the PHT in 2004, has given recognition to the living heritage of Penang, and this includes the handmade signboard carver, the last Teochew puppet troupe owner, the master jeweller, the last traditional lantern maker, and the master rattan weaver. Their skills were documented to safeguard the intangible heritage as well as to ensure their continuity; this was undertaken as a joint effort between the PAPA Programme with the assistance of its by-product of Living Heritage Treasures Award (LHTA) and the Think City.

The communities of George Town celebrate festivals throughout the year. These festivals present an atmosphere of a society where each constituent group is deeply rooted in their own cultures, while also celebrating the diversity and differences of other ethnic groups. The celebrations include the Maulidur Rasul or Maulud Nabi (the birth of Prophet Muhammad), Chingay, birthdays of the Chinese deities, the Nine Emperor Gods Festival, and the Thaipusam.

3.3.6 Conservation policy and management approach

Malaysia exercises a three-tier government system, in which the federal government is the core of the national administration, and is governed by the federal constitution. The second tier is the state government while the third tier is the local government. The National Heritage Act 2005 (hereafter referred to as Act 645) takes care of all heritage matters under the Ministry of Tourism, Arts and Culture. The Department of National Heritage was established in 2006 and is responsible for matters of conserving and promoting both the tangible and intangible heritage and the custodian of all World Heritage Sites in Malaysia. At a more local level, using the Town and Country Planning Act 1976 (TCPA 1976 or Act 172) as a guide and reference, the state government is entrusted with the responsibility of administering the site. Since the WHS inscription in 2008, the day-to-day operation and management of the sites were mainly overseen by selected agencies, namely the local government and the World Heritage Office.

The local government for George Town is the Penang Island City Council or Majlis Bandaraya Pulau Pinang (hereafter referred to as MBPP), who refers to Act 172, the Uniform Building By-Law 1984, the MBPP by-laws and also the Street, Drainage and Building Act 1974 (Act 133) in carrying out their duties. The World Heritage Office, known as the George Town World Heritage Incorporation (hereafter referred to as GTWHI), was set up by the state government in 2010 to manage, promote and monitor the site while providing advice and guidance on heritage matters within the site. The top-down distribution of power allows the federal government to have a say in local government policies, while the land matters fall under the jurisdiction of the state governments throughout the country. Both the local and the state government depend

heavily on the federal government for funding for development, including heritage conservation matters. Therefore, the planning and management of heritage sites became the responsibility of all three tiers of the government.

The three-tier administration system, however, has been the cause of conflicts and different interpretations of the management of the site, particularly about the WH status. The country's general election in March 2008 saw the opposition political party winning over the then ruling government in Penang. The general election had taken place just a few months before George Town and Melaka received their WH status. Therefore, there are differences in how the sites are managed. In Penang, the power relationship between the federal and the local government has changed since then, resulting in contested visions and missions created by differences in political agenda; thus making the maintaining of the authenticity and integrity of the site a challenge (Lai and Ooi, 2015). The conflict between the federal and the state government had taken a serious turn when several restrictions were made with regard to the management of the WH site. One of the significant concern is the provision of grants for heritage conservation, and in 2009 the federal government established Think City Sdn. Bhd. (hereafter referred to as Think City) a company wholly owned by Khazanah Nasional Berhad (who manages selected assets and also investment on behalf of the government of Malaysia). Think City was responsible for the management of federal grants in urban regeneration programmes, rather than funding being directly given to the state government.

Think City and the Penang state government, however, have worked quite well together as both have a common interest in urban regeneration and conservation projects. In 2015, a three-year memorandum of understanding between the Penang state and Think City with the Aga Khan Trust was signed for the regeneration of several areas, including Armenian Square and Fort Cornwallis on the North Seafront (Lau, 2015). Another example of the conflict between federal and state government was the cancellation of tourism memorandums between the respective bodies as the state leadership changed (Goh, 2008). The state government has also established Penang Global Tourism (hereafter referred to as PGT) in promoting tourism in Penang.

A Special Area Plan (hereafter referred to as SAP) for George Town WHS was prepared by state and federal government agencies led by the Penang Town and Country Planning Department or Jabatan Perancangan Bandar dan Desa (hereafter referred to as JPBD), the National Heritage Department or Jabatan Warisan Negara (hereafter referred to as JWN), Penang Island City Council (hereafter referred to as MBPP) and the site manager, George Town World Heritage Incorporated (hereafter referred to as GTWHI) and has been approved since 2013, but only gazetted in September 2016. The World Heritage Committee requires management of the site to be implemented under Malaysian law. The management plan has adopted a Historic Urban Landscape approach to conservation, using its sustainability framework in achieving their vision to create a dynamic historical living city.

3.3.7 Issues and Challenges

At the moment, there are some glaring issues and challenges at the site, for example: managing a large area, displacement and loss of residential population in the WHS, mass tourism, gentrification, dilapidated buildings and vacant premises, the absence of an effective monitoring system and insufficient funding for heritage and conservation works, among others. Being located in an urban area, the pressure for development is very high, especially in increasing the plot ratio to maximise the floor area. In 2009, some property developers who own lands to be developed within the WHS were given a warning for disobeying the height restrictions of buildings. It had put the status of the WHS at stake when the UNESCO came for a monitoring mission to resolve the issue in the same year.

Another important issue is the displacement and loss of the residential population. The repeal of the Rent Control Act 1967 in the year 2000 has resulted in a tremendous increase in the rents, consequently leaving many tenants with no choice but to move out as they can no longer afford to stay there. According to the SAP, a survey done in George Town has revealed that the population in the area had decreased by 30% in the year 2000. According to a baseline survey by Think City, between 2009 and 2013, there was a total of 730 residents who had formerly lived there for a long time but had subsequently moved out of George Town. The results of the survey indicated that there is a change in the inner city demography towards a non-local population, with migrant workers and expatriates making up the majority of the population (Mok, 2015). Currently, to repopulate George Town, MBPP is collaborating with GTWHI and Think City using co-living space. This means that the ground floor will be in commercial use

providing space for traditional trades, while the first floor becomes a co-living space (Mok, 2018).

George Town as a WHS has had significant impacts on its tourism industry. Mass tourism has increased traffic congestion problems in the WHS. Mass tourism has also exerted pressure on the local government in the sense that they have to work harder on improving the infrastructure to tackle issues such as flooding, safety and vandalism (Beng, 2015). There is also a proposal to increase direct flights into Penang to boost tourism (Khor, 2018). The idea certainly has to do with protecting and increasing the revenue from the tourism industry, but the site needs to be controlled and managed well.

Gentrification is also taking place at both the Core and the Buffer Zones, as there are demands for new buildings to cater for tourism and new needs. Almost half of the 18,660 residents in George Town WHS left the area since 2007, which is due to rise of cost of living and working in George Town (Teoh, 2018). Gentrification also takes away the original communities, affects their lifestyle, and increases the cost of living. There are also problems of dilapidated buildings and vacant premises at the site. Even though the heritage buildings seem to be in good condition, there are still many that are left dilapidated and vacant, due to change of owners, and lack of funding to maintain them.

Funding has always been a problem, particularly for the privately owned buildings. Conservation of heritage buildings needs a great amount of funding, passion, meticulous work and skilled workers to achieve good end products. An effective monitoring system

is also needed to make sure the site does not suffer any loss that compromises its authenticity and integrity. In terms of monitoring and enforcement of heritage buildings and premises, the GTWHI and other related departments in the MBPP, for example, the building department, the enforcement unit, and the licensing unit have been doing a lot of monitoring and inspections, but there are illegal renovation works, and incompliance of guidelines for renovation works. However, there is increased awareness of heritage regulations and guidelines as they have been receiving good numbers of repair and development applications from the landowners (Beng, 2015).

3.4 Context of the Study: The 'Street of Harmony'

The specific area chosen for the site study is the 'Street of Harmony' also known by its formal name Jalan Masjid Kapitan Keling, and previously known as Pitt Street. It was one of four major streets in the original grid of George Town where Captain Francis Light established a trading settlement upon arriving at Penang Island. The estimated one-kilometre stretch of street consists of a mixture of places of worship and activities related to different cultures and faiths (see Figure 3.14). In front of the religious buildings are rows of shophouses in commercial use. The street demonstrates the cultural activities of the three predominant ethnic groups (Malay, Chinese, and Indian) in George Town. It is also rich with tangible heritage, with significant evidence of unique and eclectic architecture, located within the Core Zone of the World Heritage Site. The 'Street of Harmony' is also known as a place name for several neighbouring streets in George Town.

Figure 3.14: Street views of the ‘Street of Harmony’.
Source: The Author.

Upon its construction, Pitt Street was named after the then British Prime Minister, William Pitt the Younger. In the 1980s, it was then renamed as Jalan Masjid Kapitan Keling after the prominent Indian Muslim mosque (Kapitan Keling Mosque) which is situated along it (see Figure 3.15). Many believed that the name ‘Street of Harmony’ was given by the local authority as it became a centre for cultural heritage activities in George Town. The name ‘Street of Harmony’ was widely used in the state tourism industry in the early 1990s, but it then gained public recognition and became widely

appreciated. The tourism industry in Malaysia has realised the potential of the idea of harmonious traditions, with interethnic and inter-religious faith.

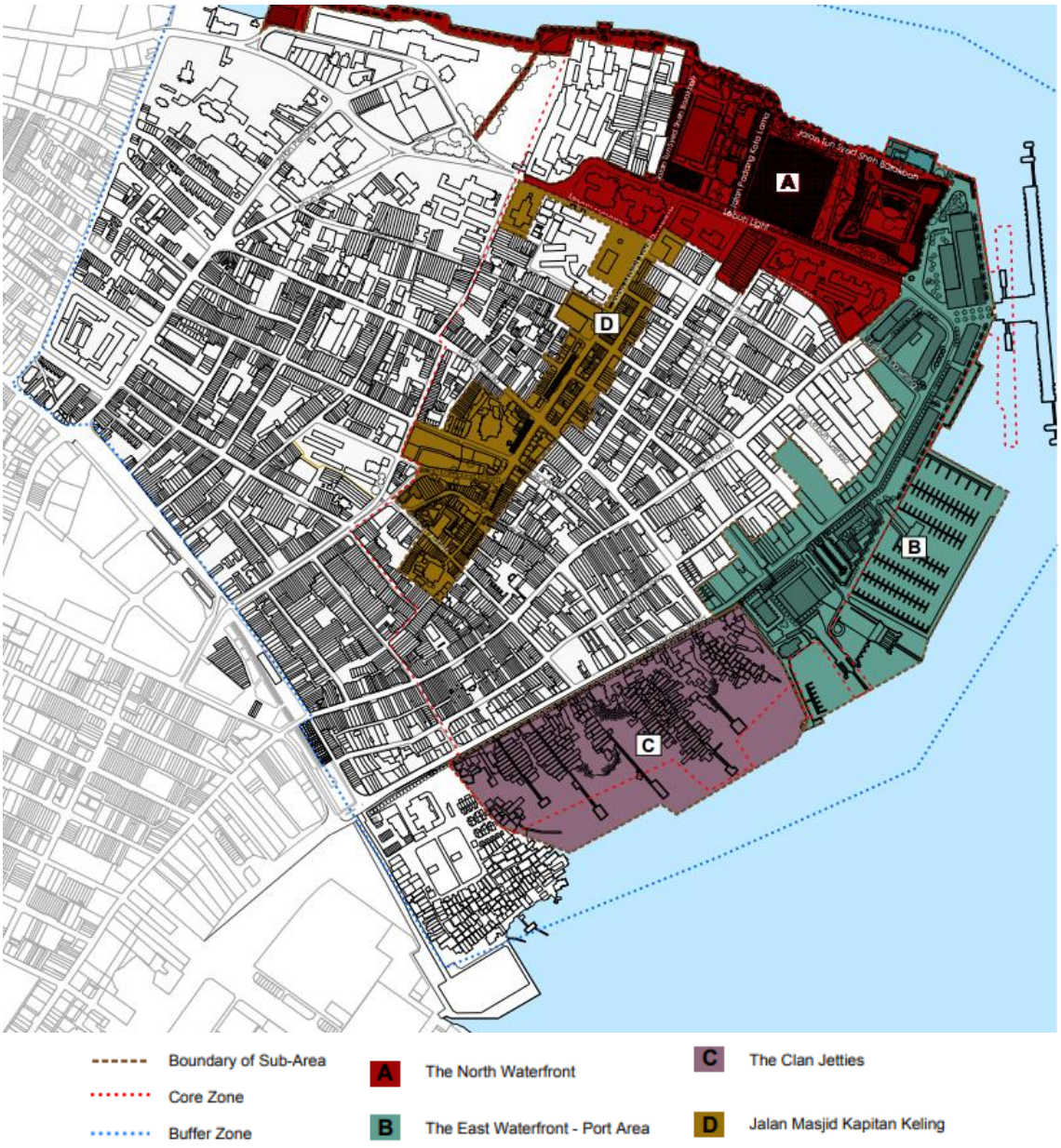

Figure 3.15: Boundary of Jalan Masjid Kapitan Keling (marked as sub-area 'D') in relation to the WHS boundary, as defined in the Special Area Plan (SAP).
Source: Special Area Plan – George Town Historic Cities of the Straits of Malacca (Town and Country Planning Department Pulau Pinang, 2016: Annexure B, Figure 1).

For many generations, the ‘Street of Harmony’ has exhibited the richness of culture and religions of the respective communities of George Town. There have been no clashes in terms of practising one’s religion, but differences of opinions exist. There were also groups who would like to promote intercultural religious understanding within the city. According to Nasution (2010), the Penang Global Ethic Project launched in 2006 played a big role in contributing to the concept of ‘World Religions, Universal Peace, Global Ethics’ with Jalan Masjid Kapitan Keling as its pilot project. The project was a collaboration between the Lestari Heritage Network, Universiti Sains Malaysia (USM) and the Konrad-Adenauer-Foundation, as well as the Malaysian Interfaith Network. It represents and promotes the street as a ‘Street of Harmony’, as a place where people could learn about the existence of other religions, cultures; with people of different nationalities and backgrounds who live in harmony with one another.

There are also traditional trades in the street, for example, traditional flower garland makers, money changers, jewellery trades, second hand furniture shop and coffee shop (see Figure 3.16). Nasution (2010) believes that the community and tourist perception towards the street may change, depending on how the place, its multiculturalism and identity are being represented and perceived. It is also important to note that the ‘Street of Harmony’ was also the notion that caught UNESCO’s attention and the reason for securing the international support for its WHS listing.

Figure 3.16: Some of the traditional trades at the ‘Street of Harmony’.
Source: The Author.

The following places of worship (see Figure 3.17) are related to the local communities at the WHS: Kapitan Keling Mosque (built in 1800) for the Indian Muslim community, St George’s Church (built in 1816) for the Anglicans, Acheen Street Malay Mosque (built in 1808) for the Malay Muslims, Sri Mahamariamman Temple (built in 1833) for Indian Hindus, and Kuan Yin Temple or Goddess of Mercy Temple (built in 1824) for the Chinese. The two mosques have been the centre of waqf properties in the George Town WHS since the beginning of the 19th century. Around the ‘Street of Harmony’, there are more temples, kongsis and shrines such as the Yap Kongsi, Khoo Kongsi, Poh Hock Seah Temple, Nagore Shrine, Han Jiang Ancestral Temple and Church of the Assumption which are also significant for the local communities.

Figure 3.17: The five well-known places of worship along the ‘Street of Harmony’: St George’s Church (top left), Sri Maha Mariamman Temple (top middle), Acheen Street Malay Mosque (top right), Kapitan Keling Mosque (bottom left), and Goddess of Mercy Temple (bottom right).
Source: The Author.

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter has not only placed the study in a particular setting but has also highlighted the complexity of the site, the multiple layers of its postcolonial history and richness in

terms of its cultural heritage. The tangible and intangible heritage in George Town is very important for the continuity of life of the city. The street life practices, performances and rituals of the multicultural society bring the place to life, apart from the physical aspects of the city. George Town has a very dynamic space and environment, and the place is absolutely not static. Like any other city in the world, George Town is also facing challenges especially in the aspect of heritage management, loss of residential population, mass tourism, and funding, among others. Being recognised as a site of intercultural exchange by UNESCO, the place is not just made up of history. It is the process of interactions and conflicts that are still happening until today that make the place unique.

In addition to the richness and the complexity of the site, discussion has also touched on the various types of stakeholder in George Town, which have a different mission, vision, and motivation towards the city. The way these communities value the cultural heritage and place demands further understanding and focus on their everyday life experience. By taking into consideration all aspects that have been set out in this chapter, an appropriate research methodology has been selected to achieve the research objectives, which will be discussed in the next chapter.

Note: Malaysia had a change of government after the Pakatan Harapan coalition (the Alliance of Hope) won the 14th General Election on May 9, 2018. The victory allows the coalition to form the federal government, ending the Barisan Nasional's 61 years of ruling the country.

CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses the research methodology used for this study, which is derived from a strong foundation of ontological considerations, epistemological assumptions and axiological purposes. According to Bryman (2008), ontology relates to considerations on whether the nature of social entities can be considered through the lens of objectivism or constructivism. Objectivism deals with the meanings of social phenomena that are beyond the reach and influence of social actors. This study takes constructivism as its ontological standpoint, which implies the notion of people continuously looking for meaning and creating an understanding of the world in which they live and work. For Creswell (2009), constructivism explains the way people look for the subjective meaning of their experiences; thus, the researcher needs to scrutinise the complexity of the available views.

The epistemological orientation relates to the way we know things, which is divided into two types, namely positivism and interpretivism. Bryman (2008) defines positivism as an epistemological position that supports the application of methods of natural science to the study of social reality. Interpretivism, on the other hand, deals with a belief in seeking knowledge that is socially constructed within a concrete and specific context and provides depth to the study. This study employs interpretivism in which the understanding is gained through perceived knowledge that covers the meaning of the phenomena, thus satisfying the goal of this study, which is understanding the way a

place is being negotiated. In terms of axiological purposes, the nature of value could be value-free, or value-laden. This study uses the value-laden approach as it depends on the interests and beliefs of humans. The positioning of the research paradigm for this study is summarised in Figure 4.1.

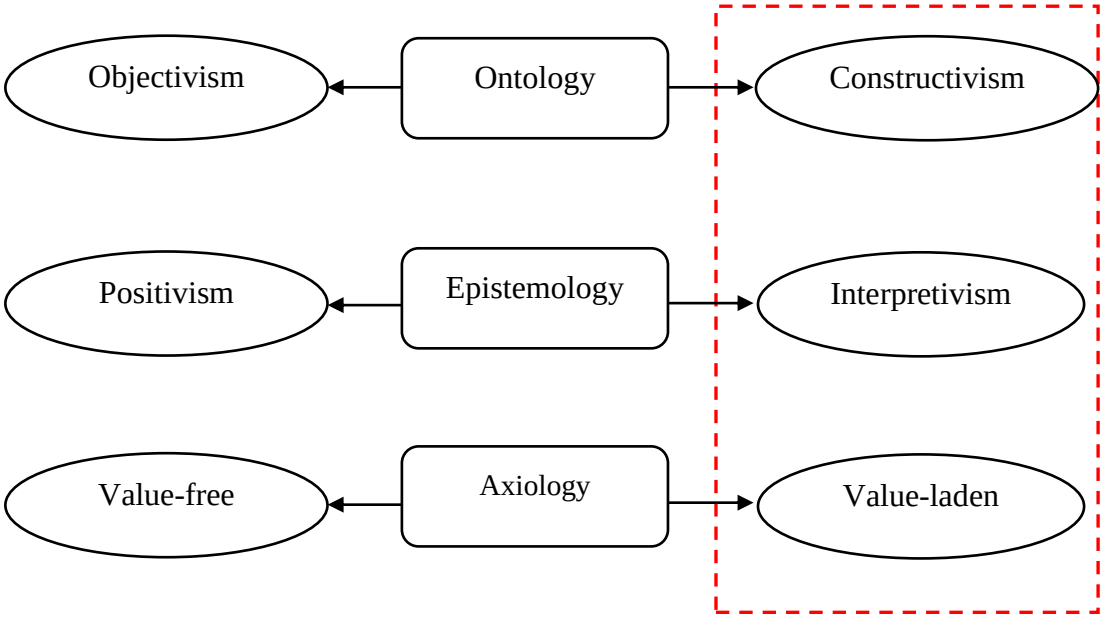

Figure 4.1: Positioning the study within the philosophical continuum.

The research used the grounded theory methodology, which generates the emergence of theory from systematic research. The aim of the study was to understand the relationships between the World Heritage designation of George Town and its local communities. This study also concentrated on one case to obtain a detailed account of the study matter. The fieldwork was conducted at a site known for its postcolonial context and rich multicultural identity. The rest of this chapter describes the data collection techniques, the process of data collection and the way data analysis was carried out.

4.1 Going Qualitative

Qualitative research with an inductive approach was used for this study, in which a deeper understanding of the studied phenomena is the outcome of the study, based on the findings. The characteristics of qualitative research are its in-depth studies, which tend to be related to descriptions of issues or events. Most importantly, it does not test any hypotheses but is instead developing and testing theories as part of an ongoing process.

4.2 Research Approach: Grounded Theory

This study adopted a grounded theory methodology, which is one of the strategies of inquiry in qualitative research. The methodology was developed by Glaser and Strauss (1967) and discussed in their book 'The Discovery of Grounded Theory', with its theoretical orientation based on sociology. The emergence of a theory is the aim of grounded theory. The term 'theory' in grounded theory is a 'methodology to assist in the development of an explanatory model grounded in empirical data' (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) and an 'explanatory scheme that systematically integrates various concepts through statements of relationships' (Strauss and Corbin, 1998: 25).

According to Charmaz (2006), the grounded theory methodology offers a realistic and flexible approach to examining complex social phenomena. Years after their contribution to the introduction of grounded theory, the founders parted ways; Glaser's approach (Classic grounded theory) focuses more on the total emergence of theory where the primary purpose of grounded theory is exploration, to be followed by verification studies. Glaser (1992) believes that a high level of conceptual ability is

needed to do a grounded theory methodology. Meanwhile, Strauss and Corbin (1990) view the purpose of grounded theory as a combination of hypothesis generation and verification. Known as the Straussian approach, it also pre-suggests possible influences on behaviour. Another important contributor to the development of grounded theory after the divergence in direction between Glaser and Strauss is Charmaz, whose approach to grounded theory is based on a constructivist perspective. Charmaz (2006: 9) considers grounded theory as 'a set of principles and practices' and a method with no rigid guidelines.

For this study, a Straussian approach to grounded theory was adopted for the following reasons. This approach uses humans as active agents, employs an emergent process, has social and subjective meanings as problem-solving practices, and an open-ended study of action to grounded theory (Charmaz, 2006). However, due to its rigid coding instructions, I choose to apply a more flexible coding procedure, which is quite similar to the coding instruction in Classic grounded theory. This does not interrupt the reliability of the Straussian approach as Strauss and Corbin (1990, 1998) themselves believed that the coding employed should harmonise with the study.

4.2.1 Rationale for using grounded theory

Currently, there is very limited existing knowledge on the phenomena under study in this research, therefore, grounded theory is seen as a suitable methodology (Creswell, 2009). The inductive research approach provides a deeper understanding that explains the complex social phenomena and has the potential to disclose a rich explanation of the relationships between the World Heritage designation of George Town and its local

communities. By employing grounded theory, the approach also seeks to compare data with emerging analytical categories and demonstrates relationships between concepts and categories (Charmaz, 2006). Another rationale for employing grounded theory is that it becomes a problem solver in dealing with thick non-numerical data, and it provides an inductive procedure for generating theories. For Daengbuppha, Hemmington and Wilkes (2006), this means that I need to become immersed in the field, with the aim of gaining insight and deep understanding of the area of study – the complexity of negotiation of place and its cultural heritage values. This approach also allows for multiple methods for collecting data, namely semi-structured interviews, observations and archival resources. I am also able to play an active role in acquiring rich data from these different methods and a range of perspectives. In the cultural heritage field, several studies have employed grounded theory as their research methodology (refer to Table 4.1).

Table 4.1: Examples of application of grounded theory in the heritage and tourism field.

The studies	**Author**	**Aim of study**
The Entanglement of the Heritage Paradigm: Values, Meanings and Uses.	Apaydin (2018)	To examine the way value and meaning of a heritage site can be distinct for local communities.
'Grounded Theory' in Conservation Research; a Methodology for Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage (Indigenous Knowledge).	Rahimnia, Gharaati and Zamanifard (2016)	To explain the application of grounded theory in the study of indigenous knowledge.
Using Grounded Theory to Explore Stakeholder Perceptions of Tourism.	Hardy (2005)	To explore the relationship between stakeholder analysis, perceptions of tourism induced change and sustainable tourism.

These studies indicate that the approach has been used widely in the tourism field, but it is quite new to the heritage field. Grounded theory serves a tool to understand the experience, behaviours, decision-making, perceptions and relationships of the stakeholders at tourist sites and is related to the tangible and intangible heritage. Therefore, this approach has been chosen as I believed it could provide insights and allow the emergence of theory.

4.3 The Selection of Case

A single case in the setting of an urban, postcolonial and multicultural context in Penang was chosen. George Town gained its status as a World Heritage Site in 2008 based on its uniqueness as a multicultural trading town, its multicultural heritage of Asian origin with a mixture of European colonial influences, as well as its unique architecture, culture and townscape (UNESCO, 2008b). The specific site located at the 'Street of Harmony' is deemed sufficient to understand the complexity of the place where several groups of community reside and occupy the area, practising different cultures and undertaking divergent activities. The study conducted an intensive examination of the site, instead of focusing on only the community or organisation (Bryman, 2008).

Various types of materials were gathered over a time span of eight months between September 2016 and April 2017. Within this time frame, I visited the site and stayed for certain periods of time. I conducted the fieldwork down to the street level, which means the investigation went into the reality of everyday life, at the micro level study of a designated WH city, concentrated at one of the most important parts of the site. The

study contributes to the experience of the place, as most of the interviews were conducted on-site (for example while walking along the street, standing near the mosque, eating at the street food stall, sitting inside a café) and used images, maps and videos that are related to the site. These provide rich information and partly build on a study that is more recent, in which the majority of the interviewees were talking about the site in the real setting.

4.4 Data Collection Techniques

Strauss and Corbin (1994) consider the characteristics of qualitative research as a work of bricolage and the research as bricoleur. Bricolage is defined as 'a pieced-together, close-knit set of practices that provide solutions to a problem in a concrete situation' (Strauss and Corbin, 1994: 2). This process enables understanding of the complex phenomena that I am studying. Borrowing ethnographic approach in the observational works and semi-structured interviews, it means that I got involved in the many aspects of life taking place in the context of the study, for example, attending community events, and socialising with local communities. Hammersley and Atkinson (2007: 3) point out ethnography:

> Involves the researcher participating, overtly or covertly, in people's daily lives for an extended period of time, watching what happens, listening to what is said, and/or asking questions through informal and formal interviews, collecting documents and artefacts – in fact, gathering whatever data are available to throw light on the issues that are the emerging focus of inquiry.

Aldiabat and le Navenec (2011) state the advantages of borrowing ethnographic approaches: it is easier to understand, explain, and make documentation based on the participant's perspectives, which leads to an understanding of the series of events and behaviours in a particular culture.

4.4.1 Semi-structured interviews

Interviews were carried out to gather descriptive data, including the feelings, thoughts, memories and experience of participants regarding the case of study. A semi-structured interview was used in which a set of questions were predefined and discussed during the interview which led to other additional, unplanned questions and also allowed the interviewees to discuss his/her answer in a defined framework. To ensure the interview was carried out in a casual way as well as to get an accurate account of the interviewees' explanation, a walking interview was initially planned. Jones and Evans (2012) used this approach in making certain of the existence of the connection of body to place while reflecting upon place identity and its value. According to Trell and van Hoven (2010), a walking interview does not only involve the interviewer and interviewee but also includes the locality of place with which the interviewee engages. This research technique involves a blend of 'conversation, unstructured observations and experiences' (Cele, 2006: 149). Conversation during the walking involves, for example, daily activities, memories of the place, the identity of the place, interest, and sense of place. The topic covered may also be initiated and directed by any events or objects that were encountered along the way.

The interviewees were first recruited to undergo the 'walking interview'; however, very few were willing to undertake this interview approach. Among the reasons for the unsuccessful 'walking interview' were such factors as the unsuitable weather (hot/humid/sometimes raining heavily), bad conditions and the lack of connectivity of the pedestrian pathways. Interviewees were also reluctant to be at the site, which was far from their offices or homes. To counter this problem, I decided to continue requesting the interviewees to do a 'walking interview', however, if they were reluctant or refused

to do it, I would proceed with a regular interview in a setting of their choice. I attempted to conduct almost all interviews within the context of the site, for example in the shophouses, in the compound of Kapitan Keling Mosque, in front of Acheen Street Malay Mosque, and in a coffee shop. To encourage interviewees to relate their answers to the site, I used prompts such as maps and photos as a reference. In this way, I managed to get a more in-depth explanation as the interviewees became closer to the site.

Semi-structured interview questions were prepared as a guide. Additionally, the interviewee's body language was also observed, which also helped me to decide the next questions be asked. I employed open, descriptive questions such as 'Can you tell me about…'; 'What do you think on …'. Interviews were recorded by an audio recorder, and the date and time for interviews were arranged based on the interviewees' availability.

4.4.2 Observation

Observation requires the usage of the observer's senses to examine people in their natural setting or in situations that happen naturally. Gold (1958) first described the observer roles based on a continuum from a complete participant to a complete observer, or from involvement to detachment. There are four types of roles when doing observation: as a complete participant, an observer as participant, participant as an observer, and a complete observer. It is a continuum degree of involvement with advantages and disadvantages in each, and where the researcher might alternate between positions, depending on the situations. The role of complete participant means that the

researcher hides his or her identity, gets a close relationship, and can gain direct experience from the participants. However, this type of observation may be seen as intrusive at a certain point. The observer as participant denotes that my role can be identified, and where I can record information as it takes place. The participant as an observer is almost similar to complete participant, but the observation role is secondary to the participant role. This means that other participants in the group are aware of the researcher's status, but the researcher is also involved in the usual interaction with the people and their daily activities. The role of complete observer is when I become only an observer without participating in any of the activities of the observed groups. The researcher does not communicate with people, and this is useful when exploring issues that are sensitive or disagreeable for participants to discuss (Gold, 1958; Bryman, 2008; Creswell, 2009). Jorgensen (1989) suggests that participant observation is suitable for descriptive studies and studies that attempt to generate theoretical interpretations.

According to Bryman (2008), to get a closer view of what is happening at the site, I have to move between overt and covert roles. For example, while seeking access in an overt role, there may be many people with whom the researcher comes in contact who will not be aware of the status of the researcher, due to their busy lives and so on. Assuming a covert role may be useful when dealing with observing behaviours of different ethnic groups that may involve issues of racial concern and sensitivity. This is important so that there are fewer possibilities that they adjust their behaviour as the results of the researcher's presence. When undertaking observation, I need to record field notes which consist of information, for example attending to what participants appear to find interesting or problematic, focusing on language used by participants,

feelings, impressions, interesting contexts and scenes. The emphasis is on the process happening in the setting, as well as the provision of full and comprehensive notes on the observations (Charmaz, 2006). In some contexts, taking field notes may be looked upon as being too intrusive. Therefore, I need to find other suitable alternative ways to record observations, for example by making mental notes.

My observations took place along the 'Street of Harmony' and its surrounding area. I walked a lot; I also rode a trishaw to experience the space and place. I took photographs of the physical elements and the non-physical elements of heritage and took notes to describe events taking place. Observations were done based on the planned and unplanned events. For example, observation of the protest against cruelty on Rohingya was not planned, as I happened to be around the area on at the right time. However, there were also planned observations, such as the Chingay parade and the chariot processions at the Sri Varasithi Vinayagar shrine where the events were made known to the public through banners and mass media. The notebook is also an indispensable part of the ethnographic routine where I can record thoughts as well as overheard conversations. However, the challenge is to capture as much as possible all the information needed while staying alert to what is happening in the surroundings (Palmer, 2009). I applied two types of observations in the fieldwork – participant and non-participant observations.

- Participant observation

Employing participant observation means watching the event, situation or activities from the inside by taking part in the group to be observed. I interacted freely with the

participants, participating in various activities of the group, and became immersed in the way of life of the observed group while studying their actions. For example, I joined a guided tour with mostly foreign tourists to understand the way heritage is narrated and valued by the tourist guide and the tourists. In this instance, I am not only acting as an observer, but also a participant, and becoming a member of that group. Information such as observation of religious practice; ethnic group and gender domination; interaction between traders and customers; evidence of the sense of belonging; and sensual experience were also observed. I also looked into how identity is negotiated in such a hybrid place, on who negotiates what, and how they adapt to changes.

- Non-participant observation

In this study, for the non-participant observation, I became a complete observer in which I did not deal directly with any of the participants or discuss anything with them. I observed from a certain distance, without trying to take part in, or put any influence on, their attitude or feelings. Several events (festivals, celebrations and a demonstration) were attended, recorded and observed, such as the Chingay parade – George Town's annual event.

4.4.3 Archival resources, reports and related documents on the context of the study

For further understanding of the context of study, a range of documents was obtained: archival records, historical documents, inventories of tangible and intangible heritage, brochures, books, postcards, reports on seminars/meetings regarding cultural heritage, maps, historical survey maps and photographs of George Town generally and of the 'Street of Harmony' specifically. In obtaining all these materials, I went to the resource

centre at the GTWHI office, PHT office, and at the Star Pitt Street building. Private collections such as old photographs and movie clips from the local communities were also accessed.

Other materials refer to the narrative and visual depictions of the 'Street of Harmony' and critically reflect on how the site is represented in media, for example, brochures, leaflets, maps, newsletter, magazines, and the like. The main reason for collecting and scrutinising these sources was to trace how the place is defined by the communities and to identify the prevailing imageries and narratives that assist to frame the way space and place are being represented. In addition to this, historical sources were gathered which encompass publications such as newspaper articles, newsletter, magazines, coffee-table books, and other similar publications.

4.5 Process of Data Collection

4.5.1 Sampling and sampling techniques

Participants were selected to take part in the semi-structured interviews. According to Hammersley and Atkinson (2007: 35), three major elements need to be addressed when sampling within the case, namely time, people, and context. In order to satisfy the time element, all ranges of time must be covered to avoid being selective by concentrating on only certain periods of time or specific events. Sampling of people refers to selection based on a wide range of characteristics, for example, gender, the status of living, religion, ethnic groups, educational background and age. The context refers to the various selections of context in which people may display different behaviours.

This study adopted a purposive sampling method, where the list of prospective interviewees was prepared before I started fieldwork. Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) believe that in the selection of participants, it is important to consider the extent to which they are sensitive to the area concerned. I identified several criteria for the selection of interviewees. All interviewees should be a) a community member of the 'Street of Harmony' and b) have experience of living at/occupying/engaging with the 'Street of Harmony'. I defined local communities as not only members who are occupying the same geographical location, but also those who share the same interest, responsibility, interaction, experience, resources, value, information and causes with the site.

The 52 interviewees include the local residents, cultural and heritage activist/practitioner, worker, representative of non-profit organisation, representative of place of worship, trader, heritage advocate, WH office staff, community-based organisation staff, local government staff, WH office staff, representative of tourism industry, community leader, local planning authority staff, and federal heritage department staff. They are the people who put the site's best interest first, evident in the motivation, interest, and function of the individuals, or the organisations that they represent, which were scrutinised, to understand and critically examine the way the interviewees expressed their opinions. It is also important that the participants interviewed act as the implementer, to reinforce any related organisational decision or authority, for the site's best interest. Almost all participants are bilingual – for example a combination of Malay and English, Tamil and Malay, Tamil and English, or English and Hokkien.

The recruitment of interviewees was quite time-consuming and at times tiring. Several attempts were made to recruit prospective interviewees, not all of whom were interested. I found recruiting using e-mail was more difficult as some of the prospective participants did not reply to the e-mails, or not even possess an e-mail account. Therefore, I took the initiative by calling them on the phone and visited their place – for example their home, office, shop or at the places of worship. Recruitment of interviewees was also made using 'snowball' sampling, which is part of the purposive sampling method and begins with individuals that were recommended to me by established informants, for example, the community leaders, and GTWHI officers. Each interviewee was then requested to provide the names of individuals who they believed should also be included in the interviews. The snowball sampling method helps to recruit appropriate people, for example, interviewees of a high profile who have a very tight schedule. Even when using snowballing and purposive sampling, I tried to recruit those who can represent the 'Street of Harmony' from various age groups, ethnicities, backgrounds, and connection to place.

I also relied on interviewees who have contact with the members of the communities – especially to some people who were reluctant to be interviewed by a 'stranger' – particularly during the earliest phase of my fieldwork. Other than that, I made contact with relevant individuals and organisations while attending talks, a conference, and seminars. I also attended a workshop held at Think City's office, where I made contact with a representative from the local council, local communities, and Penang's former higher-ranking leader. Some individuals introduced me to their colleagues, some allowed me to use their name to gain access to information, and invited me to join

heritage and conservation events so that they could introduce me to communities with wider heritage interests. Being friendly as a researcher does help to develop a sense of trust with the participants in the research, and became a real strength of the process in looking for potential interviewees. Generally, people were willing to talk to me freely, but some refused to participate. The reasons given for rejection were that people are tired of researchers and students. They indicated that they had done many interview sessions previously but did not have a chance to get to see the outcome of the study. Others refused because they cannot speak fluent Bahasa Malaysia or English, and some can only communicate in Tamil.

4.5.2 Procedures

- Semi-structured interviews

Before each interview began, all interviewees were given an information sheet about the synopsis and primary focus of the study, together with a consent form for them to understand the nature and extent of their involvement in the research. After obtaining their consent, I began the interview session at the venue previously agreed with the interviewee. I kept an interview log sheet to keep track of the interviews. The location and the time varied to suit the convenience of the interviewer and interviewee, although a walking interview around the site was my preferred choice. A face-to-face interview is highly preferred as it provides opportunities for rapport building and is deemed more convenient; however, in one circumstance a Skype interview was carried out due to incompatibility of schedules between the interviewee and myself.

Each interview session took about 30 to 75 minutes, and it was sound recorded and fully transcribed. After the interview, I made a note on how the session went, for example on the attitude of the interviewee, any feelings arising about and from the interview, as well as the condition of the interview setting. The interviews conducted were based on the availability of the participants to engage in the interview. In general, I did not encounter any difficulties in terms of understanding what the participants answered during the interview. However, one Indian Muslim participant needed help from his family member as he found it difficult to understand Malay or English, as he speaks Tamil.

4.5.3 Positionality

In this section, I reflect on how different aspects of identity affect the research design, data collection and analysis. Conducting the fieldwork in my home country involves reading again on, for example, histories of the nation, colonialism, town planning, civil societies, and the idea of multiculturalism. The insider/outsider perspective shaped the decisions I made at the various phases of the research process (Hayfield and Huxley, 2015). Researching 'home' also brings in different dynamics, in terms of 'insider-outsider and politics of representation' (Sultana, 2007: 378).

With respect to my positionality, let me outline all aspects of my identity that were in play, including my religion, ethnicity and language. I am a Malay-Muslim woman; I was born in Malaysia and grew up there, and speak Bahasa Malaysia and English. Being local, I have the advantage of understanding the language and culture. Therefore, I can ask more insightful questions, as I have understood the context from an early age. I found it comfortable when people speak Bahasa Malaysia or English, or a combination

of both. Some people spoke a mixture of Malay and Tamil, which even though I do not understand, I could simply ask them to translate. Bahasa Tanjong (Tanjong language) – a Malay dialect (specifically a northern peninsular Malaysia dialect) – was also used by several interviewees. I am not a Penangite (a resident of Penang); however, I can understand the local dialect as I am used to interacting with people who used the dialect for many years. I believe that who I am and the kind of study I undertook, helped in forming a relationship based on trust with people during the fieldwork.

During the fieldwork, the fact that I wore hijab may have given the impression that I may not be sensitive or interested in other people's religion and culture. During an interview session, an interviewee told me that he was surprised by how open I was in talking about his religion's rituals and practices. He appreciated my tolerance and respected me, thinking I was knowledgeable, understood their culture and was willing to learn something new. In other instances, a male interviewee talked a lot about the current political situation and corruption in Penang. Even though I had to listen and engage in such conversations politely, I felt uncomfortable as it involved religious issues too. Also at times, I felt like an outsider, especially when the people knew that I am not a Penangite.

4.5.4 Research limitations

Some limitations were acknowledged during the process of research, although the aim of the study has been achieved. This study was limited to a single case at one of the important areas at the George Town WHS. This limitation is, however, inevitable in a qualitative study in which the quality, as opposed to quantity, is prioritised. Furthermore, the area covered for the single case is considered as sensible, considering

restrictions regarding the time frame, and for a single researcher conducting the fieldwork.

Another limitation is the sampling strategy, and thus related to the theoretical saturation. Grounded theory methodology uses non-probability sampling, and for categories and themes to emerge, the need for sampling of specific data sources continues until it is saturated. Therefore, at the beginning of the study, there is no limit set on the number of interviewees, nor the number of observations needed. I am aware of previous researcher's guides on the appropriate sampling size, for example 20 to 30 or 30 to 50 interviews, but I have chosen not to be restricted by it (Morse, 1994: 225; Creswell, 1998: 64). I continued to select interviewees until there was no other new information obtained from them. Hence, in the application of the theoretical sampling strategy, interviewing stopped when it reached data saturation.

4.5.5 Ethical considerations

Ethical considerations when conducting research are very important, especially when it involves humans as a research subject. It draws the line between what is acceptable and unacceptable and therefore provides integrity to the research carried out. This is especially important when considering issues related to access, informed consent, participants' feedback, participants' withdrawal and also confidentiality. The study is set in the context of an open public setting, which generally allows me to be there any day, and at almost any time, except for private buildings and also public buildings that have certain opening hours. Participants for the semi-structured interviews were provided with, and asked to read, the participant information sheet and sign a consent

form. I also prepared a Research Information sheet, to be given to anybody who noticed that I was doing the observations and questioned me about the project. The information sheet was prepared in English and translated to Bahasa Malaysia, which is widely used locally. Interviewees were also advised that they could withdraw from the study within two weeks after the interview, either by requests given verbally or in written format. Within this study too, all data was treated as private and confidential.

4.6 Approaches to Data Analysis and Processing

4.6.1 Transcription

Evaluation of each participant's interview transcript was done qualitatively by myself after an extensive review of the audio file. According to Bryman (2008), the process of recording interviews and transcribing them is important as it lays down the data to be analysed. Names and identifying details were changed in the transcripts to maintain the confidentiality of the interviewees. The interviews were conducted and transcribed in English or Bahasa Malaysia, and selected transcripts in Bahasa Malaysia were then translated into the English language.

4.6.2 Process of grounded theory

The process of grounded theory involves four iterative phases: research design, data collection, data analysis and writing the draft. The research design process involves reviewing the literature from related fields, for example architecture, heritage, tourism, sociology, and phenomenology. The role of the literature review at the earlier stage of the study was to identify gaps and develop research questions, and the fieldwork started with no predefined relationships in the study.

During the data collection stage, I employed semi-structured interviews, observations, and looked for archival resources, reports and related documents. Data analysis started after the first data was collected. This stage involves listening to the audio files and trying to figure out emerging themes before the next interview sessions or observations took place. This means that the data collection and data analysis stages overlapped. All the interviews were transcribed between the data collection and data analysis stages for coding purposes. According to Charmaz (2006), coding demands the researcher to pause and ask analytic questions on the data that has been gathered. Coding involves categorising sections of data with a short name that instantaneously summarises and accounts for each piece of data. It allows me to have preliminary ideas that can be explored further by writing about them. Coding is more than sifting, selecting, sorting and synthesising important points and data; it is the beginning of the unification of ideas analytically (Charmaz, 2006: 71). The coding method acts as an analysis approach that allows the discovery of patterns, which are usually difficult to identify from the interview transcriptions. I used a manual method for data analysis despite having access to computer-aided analysis software, for example, NVivo and Atlas.Ti. I found doing it manually is time-consuming, but this method is more flexible and allows better interpretation of data.

As stated previously in 4.2, I choose not to follow the rigid and meticulous coding procedure of the Straussian approach. According to Strauss and Corbin (1990), there are three types of coding, namely open coding, axial coding, and selective coding; which is tied with the paradigm model and complicated steps giving rise to the emergence of the theory. I understand there are differences in procedures between

different schools of grounded theory but all share a common goal. I applied a flexible coding procedure, which is quite similar with the coding instruction in Classic grounded theory – open coding, selective coding and theoretical coding. First, I analysed the interview transcripts line-by-line and coded them with keywords that refer closely to the data. Here, I made sure that the codes remained open and later grouped them according to the same concept. These conceptual categories were then compared and related until the core category or theme emerged. The next step is to focus on the core categories and the categories that relate to them until they reached the saturation level and the highest abstraction. The final step is to consider the relationship between the core categories and the emerging theory of the phenomena of study.

Table 4.2: Examples of coding process based from the excerpts from interview transcripts.

Codes	**Sub-codes**	**Excerpts from interview transcripts**
Sensory experience	Built heritage represent diversity of cultures and religions.	Different architecture, place of worship which represent variety of cultures and religions
	Rich sensory experience mainly from the places of worship.	Smell of burnt joss sticks at Kuan Yin temple.
	Relates to strong feeling about the place in terms of sight, hearing, smell, taste and touch.	I heard the of call for prayer from the mosque, bells from Hindu temple, and a lot of cultural activities
		I remember the rituals of Hindu prayer at the temple.
		Sounds of vehicles, horns, smells of Indian Muslim foods-nasi kandar.
		Sounds of theatre held for Hungry Ghost Festival.
	Related to memories.	Kapitan Keling mosque is one of the earliest religious building built.
	Smell is strongly related with ethnic group's cultural and religious activities.	Almost all ethnic groups represent themselves through smell- flower garland for Hindu, smoke and smell from the Kuan Yin temple
	Multisensory experience.	Smell of foods, sound of church's bell, celebration of culture.

Narrative attachment	Early history of the place	Reminds me of early history of George Town.
	Stories told by older generation.	The area was once a Muslim enclave which centred around Malay mosque of Lebuh Acheh.
	Family history	Rawa people started press/printing business in Penang.
	Dealing with unfortunate events.	Lightning strucked on the Malay mosque's minaret twice during renovation works.
	Stories told by older generation.	History of clashes between community of Kapitan Keling mosque with Malay mosque to determine Eid's date. To reconcile, they do alternate Friday prayers.
	Relationship of ethnic group with the place of worship.	Kapitan Keling mosque was built for the Indian Muslims community.
	History of place.	History of the Malay mosque is related to the Malay town and 'Serambi Mekah'.
	Naming of place.	
	Events which relates to their place of origin.	Maulud celebration had influence from India, the style was brought from a village in India- a 12 days celebration.

Table 4.3: Example of the emergence of core categories/ themes from the conceptual categories and codes.

Codes	**Conceptual categories**	**Core categories/ Themes**
*example not included	*example not included	Theme 1: The construction of space and place
Sensory experience Narrative attachment Historical connection Spiritual connection Ideological connection Commodifying Material dependence	Attachment to place	Theme 2: Sense of place
Involvement in the place-related activities Understand local community's need and maintain good relationship Importance of being accepted Strong feeling for own's ethnic group	Belonging	

Bounded by people who holds power Relates to form, design, materials and techniques Relationship with history Challenges related to authenticity	Authenticity of place	
Local vs global ownership of site Claim of ownership Go beyond physical possession	Ownership over place	
Local community's involvement Vision of site	Stewardship	
*example not included	*example not included	Theme 3: Representation of identity
*example not included	*example not included	Theme 4: Framing of the 'Street of Harmony'

Charmaz (2006) states that theoretical sampling gives direction on where to go and seeks for relevant data, and enhances and elaborates categories constituting the theory. Theoretical sampling also dictates the choice of interviewees who can provide deep understanding of the relationships of my study. Constant comparative methods (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) is a critical feature in the emergence of theory, and it is closely related to theoretical sampling. It is done by making a comparison at every phase of analysis – by looking at the similarities and differences in the interviews and observations. It also involves 'conceptual labelling and grouping of similar data, categorising the concepts, linking categories by relationship, conditions and dimensions, and finally developing an emerging theory' (Daengbuppha, 2009: 49). Data saturation happens when new data collected no longer triggers new coding or dimensions (Holten, 2007). There is also no 'one-size-fits-all' way to achieve data saturation, but it is important to get rich and thick data (Fusch and Ness, 2015).

Another essential part of data analysis is memo-writing. For Corbin and Strauss (1990), writing the memo starts during the analysis of data. Charmaz (2006) considers memo-writing as the step in-between data collection and writing drafts. I wrote any thoughts that came into my mind after selecting a code or category, and allowed ideas to be explored and discovered. The memo is a platform on which the analytical thinking is recorded, and will shape the core of the grounded theory. Charmaz (2006) believes that the memo could be re-examined, reassessed and reviewed as the study proceeds; and it also helps in directing attention at the gap that needs to be solved. In sorting, diagramming and integrating all the memos, Charmaz (2006) found these three processes as interrelated. Sorting provides the opportunity to organise the analysis and polish the theoretical links. Diagramming involves creating visual images, for example charts, maps, and figures as an aid in demonstrating the relationships of the categories in a clearer manner. After writing all the memos, they need to be integrated into a logical order, as for how they would fit one another.

Moving on from the analysis process towards producing a theory, the journey continues with the process of writing the draft. Charmaz (2006) suggests several techniques in handling the writing of the draft such as marking the study's original contribution, drafting data that has been discovered, reviewing early drafts, integrating the pieces of works together, putting together the arguments and examining the categories. The emergent theory was compared with the literature by looking at how it enhances, expands, challenges or supplants existing concepts.

4.7 Conclusion

This chapter has described the theoretical underpinning related to research philosophies, and the methodological and analytical strategies in the study. Justification was provided for the rationale of using grounded theory methodology in understanding the relationship between a WH city and its local communities. Grounded theory methodology relies on and acknowledges the participant's viewpoint, and focuses on daily life activities and experience. It makes a greater contribution in an area where little research has been undertaken on the topic. I also described my positionality in the study, and how I focused in preparations for the field, especially in establishing rapport and trust with interviewees. This chapter also identifies the challenges that need to be taken into account when conducting fieldwork, and the systematic process of grounded theory. The next two chapters present the analysis of data from the fieldwork.

CHAPTER 5

PLACE AND SENSE OF PLACE

5.0 Introduction

This chapter provides a comprehensive discussion on the underlying research process investigating the relationships between the WH designation of George Town and its local communities. The findings are explained in this and the following chapter. Four broad themes emerging from the analysis are the construction of space and place, the inter-related sense of place, the representation of identity, and the framing of the 'Street of Harmony'. In this chapter, the first two themes will be discussed.

The tangible as well as the intangible heritage will be discussed as part of the discourse on space and place. For the first theme, the construction of space and place, the discussion will focus on how people define the 'Street of Harmony' by referring to its tangible and intangible heritage. This is followed by an examination of how people make space, through practices, embodiments, and narratives of the site. The second theme apparent from the findings is the interrelated sense of place. The study will identify the various elements that contribute to understanding the relationship between the tangible and the intangible heritage, as well as how they provide deeper meaning to the site. The findings demonstrate that the sense of place exists when there is attachment to place, belonging, stewardship, ownership over the place, and the authenticity of place.

5.1 Locating the 'Street of Harmony'

Different people have different interpretations of the location of the 'Street of Harmony', depending on what the place means to them and the value they place to it. The 'Street of Harmony' can be located based on several aspects, namely its tangible and intangible heritage, its landmarks, from where it starts and ends, and the inclusion and exclusion of physical elements. Generally, the majority of respondents referred to the location of the 'Street of Harmony' as being Jalan Masjid Kapitan Keling, or previously known as Pitt Street. The diversity of ethnic groups in Penang are shown partly with the evidence of the street names- through the activities and physical elements. Based on a plaque displayed at Jalan Masjid Kapitan Keling, the historical name of the street is related to its tangible and intangible heritage. To the Chinese, it was known as 'Kuan Im Teng Cheng' (in Hokkien) and 'Kun Yam Miu Chin' (in Cantonese) which means 'in front of the Goddess of Mercy temple'. It is also called 'Tua Ba-Lai' (in Hokkien) or 'Tai Mata Liu' (in Cantonese) which means big police station, as the police station used to be located at the centre of the street. Another Chinese name for the street is 'Tua Zhui Chia' (big well after a big water tank) and 'la Kah' (under the coconut trees) further south. In Malay and Tamil, it was known as 'Simpang Lelong' and 'Aru Muchanti' (auctioneers' junction) respectively, after the place where auctions used to be held in front of the mosque. The street name also tells its history and revealed how local communities expressed the importance of the place.

The 'Street of Harmony' is also located using its major landmarks, particularly the places of worship. The majority of the interviewees relate to the place through its five major religious buildings: St George's Church, the Kuan Yin Temple, the Sri

Mahamariamman Temple, the Kapitan Keling Mosque, and the Acheen Street Malay Mosque as landmarks to locate the place. Some others include the Teochew association, Nagore shrine, and the temples at peripheral areas as well. This is also evident in the pamphlet and booklet advertising the street (see Figure 5.1 and Figure 5.2).

Figure 5.1: The route taken by the former President of India, Dr APJ Kalam's during his visit to the 'Street of Harmony' include the five major places of worship, Teochew temple, Yap and Khoo Kongsi, and Penang Islamic Museum.
Source: A booklet of Dr APJ Kalam's Visit to the Street of Harmony – UNESCO World Heritage Site George Town, Penang, Malaysia 30 August 2008 by Think City Sdn. Bhd. (2013).

Figure 5.2: The 'Street of Harmony' consist of places of worship along Jalan Masjid Kapitan Keling and its extension, Cannon Street. Two churches, two Chinese temples, two mosques, two kongsis and one Hindu temple, were found along the street. The map also includes the location of Penang Museum, Nagore Shrine, Penang Islamic Museum, Durga Shrine and Penang Heritage Centre (now known as GTWHI).
Source: A pamphlet of World Religions Walk Penang by Lestari Heritage Network (2006).

Many interviewees identified the location of the street by referring to where they consider it starts and ends, which they pick out based on an individual's perception of the place. The majority of them stated that the starting point of the street is from the northern side (from the old town administration area) to the southern side of the street (at the Acheen Street Malay Mosque). When referring to the location of a place, one cannot escape from discussing the issue of inclusion and exclusion of the buildings and other features of the 'Street of Harmony'. Aside from the five places of worship mentioned by majority of the interviewees, a respondent suggested other buildings with strong connections to the site needed to be included, for example, the Tua Pek Kong Temple and also Khoo Kongsi. The issues of inclusion and exclusion were raised during the two-year process of completing the 'Journey of Harmony' project, from 2014 to 2016. The collaborative project between Arts-ED and Think City aimed to understand the shared elements of the neighbourhood based on the religious and cultural practices

of the communities along the street. Arts-ED consulted the local communities and received considerable feedback from them especially on which buildings or areas should be included in the project. The Church of Assumption located at Farquhar Street, as well as several ‘kongsi’ (Chinese clan houses) and Chinese associations would like to be included in the project, but the project team thought that the inclusion would make the area too big; thus rejecting the idea by only including the five major places of worship (see Figure 5.3).

According to one of the project team, although the Sri Mahamariamman Temple had been earmarked for inclusion in the Journey of Harmony project, initially the representatives of the temple claimed that it was not part of the ‘Street of Harmony’, as the main entrance of the temple faces Queen Street, not Jalan Masjid Kapitan Keling. On the other hand, to some of the interviewees, the ‘Street of Harmony’ should not be just limited to cover only one street, namely the Jalan Masjid Kapitan Keling. This is due to the conception that it also covers minor streets, for example, Queen Street, where the Sri Mahamariamman Temple front entrance is located, and Cannon Street – a smaller road extended from Jalan Masjid Kapitan Keling and leading to Acheen Street Malay Mosque. Because of the inclusion of the minor streets, an interviewee believed that the place should be called the ‘Streets of Harmony’ or ‘Precinct of Harmony’ instead, with Jalan Masjid Kapitan Keling as the major artery. To him, a place should relate to its surrounding context.

Figure 5.3: The Journey of Harmony walking route, an interpretation project of the 'Street of Harmony' between local communities, Arts-ED and Think City.
Source: The pamphlet of Journey of Harmony – a Self Discovery Walking Tour by Arts-ED and Think City Sdn. Bhd. (2015)

The above conceptualisation of the location of the 'Street of Harmony' is in similar vein to what has been discussed by previous researchers; it is not confined within boundaries (Massey, 1991) and the location depends on how people defined it based on their activities, movement and how it assists the relationships between humans (Agnew, 1987; Lawson, 2001). The findings show that both the tangible and intangible heritage play an important role in locating the 'Street of Harmony'. The way people locate place involves the exercise of power, especially in strengthening one's identity, inclusion and exclusion, and in organising spatial practices such as walking.

5.2 Creation of Place through Practices

The study relates to Lefebvre's (1991) spatial triads to understand how space is produced in the 'Street of Harmony', as well as de Certeau's (1984) idea on the act of walking. As mentioned in the context chapter, the history of 'Street of Harmony' started with the establishment of George Town. The 'Street of Harmony' and its surrounding area were conceived by the British as part of the early grids of George Town. Ethnicity and diversity were important issues central to the production of space, where plot of lands were awarded by British to different ethnic groups to build their place of worship and later, ethnic settlements started to develop surrounding the area. Various traditional trades, religious and cultural practices of the multicultural communities can be seen being performed at the site. Over the years, the local communities at the 'Street of Harmony' have been appropriating and using their space for all sorts of activities, for example doing business and performing prayers. Lefebvre (1991: 286) claims that place connects with communities: 'space is permeated with social relations; it is not only supported by social relations, but it is also producing and produced by social relations'.

The new plan to improve the 'Street of Harmony' was documented in the 2016 Special Area Plan and it includes upgrading and enhancing the quality of street for pedestrian use. The plan also includes sharing the compounds of the Kapitan Keling Mosque and St George's Church with the public as part of an urban plaza and green space (Town and Country Planning Department Pulau Pinang, 2016: C5-8). Even though the project is yet to be implemented, the new conceived space is expected to improve pedestrian movements and open up spaces for the local communities to appropriate. The new spatial practice could give birth to a variety of lived space for the people in the 'Street

of Harmony'. However, the new conceived space has also the potential to remove the lived space developed over the years.

5.2.1 The act of walking

Another way of exploring how place is constructed at the 'Street of Harmony' is through the act of walking (de Certeau, 1984). de Certeau uses the concepts of strategy and tactics to refer to the ways of operating in the spatial practice of a subject with power exerted by the authorities and the consumers, who are the users of the space. At the 'Street of Harmony', there are both strategies and tactics that works. The spatial struggle between strategy and tactics along the street exists, for example at the places of worship, and public realms like streets and open spaces. By investigating the act of walking along the 'Street of Harmony', I was able to construct the broad strategies laid out for such activities and how these have been observed or subverted in the practice of walking. These examples are from the observations made on site; the first one was during the 'Solidarity for Rohingya' demonstration, and the second was during the Chingay parade procession: both present different configurations of experience of the everyday. The first event was conducted to give support to the Rohingya people who are facing deadly attacks and violence for many decades in Myanmar; the second event originated from China, featuring flagpole bearers with musical performances to celebrate the opening of a festival.

For the first example, I observed an activity where around 200 protestors marched peacefully on the street, starting from the Acheen Street Malay Mosque to the Kapitan Keling Mosque (see Figure 5.4). Some were carrying banners condemning and

protesting against atrocities towards the Rohingya community in Rakhine, Myanmar. As the event happened right after Friday congregational prayers where only Muslim males attended (for Shafie mazhab or the school of thought which is being practised in Malaysia, only men go to Friday prayer, and it is not obligatory for women), no women were seen as participants. I saw many men wearing the 'ketayap' (short skullcap) or the 'songkok' (headgear); some were wearing office attire, and sarongs. The words stated on the banners included 'Stop Genocide – Arakan is not next Palestine', 'Berhenti Membunuh – Media Dunia Membisu' (Stop the Killing – World Media is Silent), and 'Berhenti Membunuh – Kami Membantah Etnik Rohingya Dilupuskan' (Stop the Killing – We Disagree on the Ethnic Cleansing of Rohingyas). The demonstration was led by the local Muslim community leaders. A loudhailer was used by the leaders to condemn the injustice, and the people were heard shouting 'Allahu Akbar' (God is Great) as they walked in a big group towards the Kapitan Keling Mosque.

The majority of the demonstrators were Indian Muslims and Malays. The vehicles made way for the demonstrators, with the help of some Indian Muslim youths who were helping to control the traffic while people were crossing the road. When they reached at the temporary stage in front of the Kapitan Keling Mosque, the leaders, one of whom was from the Penang Religious Affairs Department, and one of the state executive councillors went up on the stage and expressed their concerns regarding the Muslim ethnic cleansing in Rakhine in English, Malay and Tamil languages. The use of these languages was expected as the majority of the Muslims, and 'qariah' (neighbourhoods) of both mosques are Malays and Indians. One of the leaders criticised Aung San Suu

Kyi, Myanmar's democracy icon and Nobel Peace Prize Winner, for keeping quiet over the issue even though pressure has been put on her to make a statement.

A Rohingya refugee representative also gave a short speech, hoping that the world would end this crisis and urging the Myanmar government to replace the loss of their properties. The crowd was also told that earlier that morning, the Penang State Assembly had passed a unanimous agreement to condemn the violence on the Rohingya community. A number of police officers were seen to ensure safety in the surrounding area. A few car drivers, cyclists and motorcyclists who passed the Jalan Masjid Kapitan Keling were seen to stop for a while to listen to what was happening. The protestors had rejected the strategies being imposed on them by walking against the traffic in a one-way vehicular street. They occupied the street, crossing the road while giving little consideration to the moving vehicles, taking shortcuts and detours when necessary, to get to the venue of the event. This is in accordance with the ideas of de Certeau (1984) that the spatial practice of walking has potential to resist orders from an authorised group and appropriate the space.

Figure 5.4*:* Pedestrians create the city story – demonstration to condemn and protest against atrocities towards the Rohingya community in Rakhine, Myanmar.
Source: The Author.

Another observation was made during the annual Chingay parade, which showed how people of different ethnicities, different age groups, and even of different nationalities came together to celebrate the event. The parade includes the 'Street of Harmony' as part of the route that leads them to the Esplanade. The two-way street was closed from traffic in stages, and eventually became pedestrianised. There was no barrier between the spectators and the performers, and they were free to move around the street. The

majority of the vehicles obediently followed the instruction of the policemen or the People's Volunteer Corps (Rela) who were there to ensure public safety and control the traffic. Cones were used as one of the strategies of the local authority to manage traffic during the event, to prevent vehicles from entering the street. However, some motorcyclists took the chance to ride on the street while the parade was still going on. There was also a motorcyclist who was watching the parade on his bike in the middle of the street.

The performers occupied the street by performing with bamboo flagpoles, tossing the poles from one person's head onto their partner's head and doing other stunts. They paraded in small groups, each representing a cultural group or an organisation. The movement that they made with their bodies becomes a communication means, connecting traditions with the present conditions of heritage, and being experienced by the crowd to achieve a better understanding of cultural heritage. The parade also included the lion dance, bands, decorated trishaws, several cultural dance troupes as well as a dragon dance (see Figure 5.5). When the Bhangra dance troupe stopped at one point in the street and performed, many spectators moved from the side to the middle of the street to watch the performance. That was the tactic of the spectators to appropriate the street, deviating from the intended place to watch the performance, due to their eagerness. After a while, the troupe continued to move along the parade route, and the crowd dispersed.

Figure 5 5*:* Chingay parade that passed by part of the 'Street of Harmony'.
Source: The Author.

Both events observed show that pedestrians produced their own stories by moving and navigating in the city. Making their way through the stretch of the street is a kind of tactic that escapes discipline and orders imposed on them, even though it is still within certain prescribed limitations. Here, de Certeau's (1984) argument that the 'street geometrically defined by urban planning is transformed into space by walkers' can be applied to the understanding of place. De Certeau's theory on the production of space

suggests that the acts of walking and creating stories are more useful for building connections to a place, as compared to the maps. The place is embodied, and this subjective experience cannot be fully captured by the logics of plans, maps, planning or governance. Urban planners may have the power to plan the street and city, but the pedestrians will figure out how best to navigate the reality of everyday life and practices.

From the fieldwork, I realised that experiencing the place by walking is the best way to reveal the meaning and reality of the daily activities of the place (de Certeau, 1984). Another related concept is on the flâneur (Benjamin, 1999), where I had more opportunities to truly experience the place using my senses and identified the heritage traces left, as compared to just referring to the street by maps. I made spontaneous moves, and found unexpected connections to the past, how it relates to the present world, which became apparent when I was experiencing the space. By walking, I was able to note the changes that are taking place in the area, and consciously or unconsciously criticise the way the city is being designed.

The act of walking in the 'Street of Harmony' ensures that people interact with the tangible and intangible heritage; however, the people with the power to plan and design the place need to understand the usage of space by becoming active participants of the street as well. This will complement the future planning at the 'Street of Harmony' as stated in the SAP (2016), aimed at improving the public realm in terms of design and accessibility.

5.2.2 The narratives of place

Another way to explain the way place is constructed at the 'Street of Harmony' is through the narratives or storytelling, which also give shape to the cultural meaning. It is important for the production and practice of space because the meaning of a space is typically communicated through the stories attached to these spaces. The narration could also provoke imagination and construct images on how space are experienced. One example is on the issue of naming the street, in which the naming tied together the stories, place and communities. It is known that the original name of the street was Pitt Street, but in the 1980s, it was changed to Jalan Masjid Kapitan Keling. Pitt Street was understood to be one of George Town's early grids from the gridiron layout planning system, carrying the name of the then Prime Minister of Britain, William Pitt the Younger. The place names adopted in George Town were greatly influenced by the British, with St George's Church located at the northern side of the street near the administration area.

Meanwhile, the proposal of naming the street as Jalan Masjid Kapitan Keling has received objections from other ethnic groups in George Town as they claimed that the name represents only the Muslims, specifically the Indian Muslim community, whereas there are other places of worship and ethnic groups that co-exist in the area. Some people claimed that changing the name of the street was like erasing their existence. However, with political interference and support from the monarch of Malaysia, the issue was cleared. In 2006, the name of the street was branded as the 'Street of Harmony' to represent the multiculturalism, diversity and tolerance in Malaysia. Although some people recognised the 'Street of Harmony' for the purpose of tourism

and instilling sentiment of religious pluralism in Penang and Malaysia, the name Pitt Street and the Jalan Masjid Kapitan Keling are still widely used until today by the locals.

Narration in the 'Street of Harmony' also involves the arts, particularly the street marking activity. Originally starting off as an international competition initiated by the state government in 2009, 'Marking George Town' has explored ideas to narrate George Town as a WHS with art for its public spaces. It has resulted in the installation of 52 unique illustrations designed by Malaysian artists that were transformed into iron rod sculptures mounted on the walls of many buildings. Along the 'Street of Harmony', two sculptures can be found (see Figure 5.6); one is a Bullock Cart Wheel sculpture at the Jalan Masjid Kapitan Keling with a written statement: 'In the days when your money could be as "big as bullock cart wheel" this was a popular rest stop for limousines of the time'. It reflects the use of bullock carts in the early days and where they were usually parked. Another sculpture is located at Cannon Street, stating 'A cannon shot fired during the 1867 Penang Riots made a large hole in this area, hence the name'. The sculpture of the Bullock Cart Wheel and its narration was a new humorous story told about the street, which differs from other narrations found at several signs and wayfinding tools. The narrative provides the users with new perspectives on the value of the site and contributes to the identity of the street. The use of English language instead of Bahasa Malaysia is related to how the narration is associated with colonial times, and also for the benefit of tourism. However, the street marking activity have become a photo session and selfies activity and do not have much success in relating the visitor to the narration of the site.

Figure 5.6: The Bullock Cart Wheel (left) and the Cannon Hole comic sculpture (right) are an interpretation of part of the histories of the 'Street of Harmony', through the eyes of four Malaysian Chinese cartoonists.
Source: The Author.

The place could also be constructed based on the narratives provided by the tourist guides. I had the opportunity to attend a free guided tour organised by PGT, which was attended by 12 other participants, the majority of whom were international tourists. The tour guide was a middle-aged Chinese man, who used English and a few Malay words to deliver his explanations. Part of his tour included the 'Street of Harmony', and his narration included a short history about the places of worship, the architecture and construction, as well as the rituals that take place. The tour guide explained more on St George's Church and the Kuan Yin Temple, compared to other places of worship. The tour entered only the Kuan Yin Temple, which is due to the accessibility of the temple for the public. Apart from telling stories about the places of worship, the tour guide also explained British colonisation, the history of Francis Light, his wife and their diversity in terms of religious faiths (Light was an Anglican, and his wife was a Catholic). He also mentioned the flower garland making stalls, the nasi kandar, the joss sticks, and also the acts of charity that exist in the 'Street of Harmony'. The narratives somehow constructed the place and how it is being perceived by other people. A British tourist

planned to extend her visit in George Town to pay a visit to Light's tomb, as she had found interesting facts about Light during the tour.

The choice of narrative is important to connect the past to the current and future generations. It gives identity to a place; it goes beyond the physical elements of the site and reveals memories of the past. The usage of both tangible and intangible heritage are also important in narrating the history and identity of place. The increase of interest in new forms of narrative, for example art installation, could influence the relationship between tangible and intangible heritage values. It may raise questions on motives, and show power dynamics based on the voices and identities represented. This is also in line with Walter's (2014) idea that narratives provide opportunities for people to gain more knowledge about the site, changing the identity of the place and communicating more towards public interest. As the value of heritage is subjective, narrative is one way of taking care of the place by giving information of the place.

5.3 Multi-scalarity of Place

This section discusses the research findings that established several main principles on how the 'Street of Harmony' is interpreted using the different scales, which is in line with Howitt's (1998) idea that the scale of a place includes the aspects of size, level and relational ideas. The 'Street of Harmony', for example, has been part of Penang's history when it was once a British trading port, a place where hajj pilgrims from South East Asia gathered before embarking on their journey to Mecca, and also once part of Penang's publishing industry. The scale of place is also not fixed; there are fluid aspects of scale in a place and the scale is socially constructed (Moore, 2008). The tangible and

intangible heritage act as ‘scale makers’ for the street, as they could contribute to the positioning of the place.

5.3.1 Size

The scale of a place also relates to its size, through which the ‘Street of Harmony’ has been represented using maps. The size of a place, whether it is shown using small-scale or large-scale maps, depends on the way certain individuals or organisations framed it, based on their motivations, interests and vision. For example, GTWHI defined the ‘Street of Harmony’ as extending from the St George’s Church up until the Acheen Street Malay Mosque, including all the waqf lands of the two mosques and Khoo Kongsi. This is because GTWHI promotes the ‘Street of Harmony’ as a place where religious pluralism existed since early George Town. The majority of the maps which represent the ‘Street of Harmony’ also focused on the location of places of worship, but not to other buildings around it, for example townhouses, shophouses or place-based activities which are important in describing the place.

5.3.2 Level

A number of spatial contexts at a variety of levels of scales are identified at the ‘Street of Harmony’ – namely personal, locale, neighbourhood, national and global level. The study suggests that levels of scale are important in understanding the reality of the dynamic process of place. A local act such as proposing a high-rise building in the boundary of George Town WHS is connected to the global scale, as in the protection of the OUV within UNESCO guidelines.

Heritage in the ‘Street of Harmony’ also exists even in a humble and small personal place like home. According to Bachelard (1964), imagination is used to define space and place even in the smallest setting, and within which important moments happened. This includes the place that is close to our heart – the everyday rhythms of life – for example home and bedroom. One of the interviewees recounted his memory of living in the upper floor of a shophouse that relates to his experience and feelings towards the house, rather than the physical aspects of it:

> I grew up in this place, and this is my playground. My home was near to the Kapitan Keling Mosque. I can hear the ‘adzan’ [call for prayer for the Muslims] from my bedroom. I was staying upstairs, and the location from my place was about 30 to 40 metres from the traffic lights [at the junction of Jalan Masjid Kapitan Keling and Chulia Street].

Another interviewee strongly identified the place using the locale – the Kapitan Keling Mosque – as a reference (Figure 5.7). Living in the compound of the mosque and working there for a number of years, he associated the place with the activities inside and outside the mosque, with very few relations with other spaces in the ‘Street of Harmony’. Several interviewees discussed the way the ‘Street of Harmony’ is identified based on its neighbourhoods, especially the ethnic enclaves: the European, the Chinese, the Indian Hindu, the Indian Muslim, and the Malay. These communities built their places of worship, and have been living along and around the street since Penang’s early settlement period. An officer from GTWHI described how he sees the street:

> [The] ‘Street of Harmony’ is a performance stage, for example, people coming out from prayers, and people showcasing the traditional culture. I love the idea of small stages all over the place, things that can be touched or felt, and make people comfortable with arts.

Figure 5.7: The ‘Street of Harmony’ is represented by its locale – the Kapitan Keling Mosque.
Source: The Author

At the state level, the ‘Street of Harmony’ is well known partly for its ‘nasi kandar’ restaurant (selling Penang’s popular steamed rice with curries and side dishes), famously known for the ‘Nasi Kandar Beratur’. The restaurant has become the main attraction for the tourists as well as the locals, since 1943. At the national level, several buildings at the ‘Street of Harmony’ are categorised as a national heritage including Kapitan Keling Mosque, St George’s Church and Acheen Street Malay Mosque. Thus, they are bound by certain acts, guidelines, planning decisions, and design considerations set by the local authorities. The place is also an epitome of the way the British colonial power planned the street to house the places of worship for the early Penang, which still exist until today.

The majority of the interviewees also describe the place based on its status as part of the WHS. The heritage values of the site were recognised by UNESCO as universal and

outstanding, and the conferred WHS status has influenced the management of the site and the tourism sector, which also influences developments in the localities, such as the creation of The Star Pitt Street building as an 'entry point' of the Penang story. When recognised as a WHS, the site belongs to all the people of the world. One of the interviewees believes that the 'Street of Harmony' truly represents George Town WHS:

> I think it is a landmark for us especially when we are talking about George Town World Heritage Site. The 'Street of Harmony' is the heart of it [Georgetown WHS].

Long before the WH inscription, George Town was already an international free trading post with global networks and developed rapidly under British administration. Today, the status as a WHS ensures continuity in terms of the relationship between the tangible and intangible heritage values, as it is expected the State Party to take responsibility for protecting the site with the help of the site manager and responsible authorities.

5.3.3 Relational idea

It is just not enough to consider scale as size and level, as place has a relational context for how the 'Street of Harmony' established its associations and networks, for example, with history, culture, politics, society and the economy (Howitt, 1998). The 'Street of Harmony' is related to the national agenda where multiculturalism is practised in the country. Malaysia has long celebrated multiculturalism to maintain national integration in which various ethnic groups live together while maintaining their own identities. To some interviewees, the 'Street of Harmony' shows the essence of the Malaysian heritage, representing the way different ethnic groups come together, tolerating and negotiating the space where diversity becomes a source of strength, as well as evidence of interfaith and religious harmony in Malaysia. Some interviewees also relate the

‘Street of Harmony’ with other localities surrounding it, for example Little India and Malay town.

The ‘Street of Harmony’ has also become a tool for promoting heritage and tourism in Penang. The street was promoted extensively as a showcase of Penang, and a teaser for the tourist to explore other tourism destinations. However, there seem to be conflicts when the PGT promotes the area as a tourist destination and wants more tourists coming in, but their approach sometimes is in conflict with the objectives of GTWHI as the manager of the site. There is a conflict between tourism and the desire to preserve the true value of the site. The ‘Street of Harmony’ is also considered by the GTWHI as part of the cultural enclave in the core area of George Town WHS. It defines the richness of the culture and the multicultural aspects of Penang represented by the tangible and intangible heritage.

5.3.4 Public vs private space

The issue of scale in the ‘Street of Harmony’ also involves the contestation between public space and private space, as these spaces function at a range of scales that overlaps. A common example is seen in the use of the five-foot way (also known as ‘kaki lima’ or covered verandahway) of the shophouses, which is considered as shared space that benefitted the people culturally, socially and economically. The covered walkway provides pedestrian with shelter from rain and sun; it was once used as a place where nasi kandar sellers promoted the sale of rice and other dishes, a place where children play, and even a place where some personal rituals take place at small altars placed there. The five-foot ways were supposed to be kept clear from obstructions, but

slowly, people have personalised them, putting temporary and permanent objects, for example, motorcycles, gates, products for sale, and grilles (see Figure 5.8). Obstructions have made the pedestrians walk on the road, increasing the danger of being hit by vehicles, as well as decreasing the contact with the tangible and intangible heritage of the site. MBPP under its Infrastructure and Traffic Committee has initiated a 'Kaki Lima George Town' programme to clear the obstructed five-foot ways and reclaim their colourful past. In the SAP, one of the missions is to make the city safer and more accessible to the pedestrians, and to promote walking to experience the city.

Figure 5.8: The way five-foot ways are being utilised at the 'Street of Harmony'

Source: The Author

Another example is the way the Kuan Yin Temple forecourt is negotiated as a public and private space. The forecourt is considered as the most communal public place in the 'Street of Harmony' where many people pray, sell joss sticks and papers, a place where the beggars wait for donations and charity, a place where the opera performances take place and even a place where tourists observe daily life and take photos. However, due to new rule where joss sticks are prohibited inside the temple due to poor ventilation, the forecourt has become part of a private space for worshippers as well, as it has become part of the praying ritual. In the next section, I will discuss on the second theme that emerged from this study: Sense of Place.

5.4 Sense of Place

In this section, I elaborate the sense of place at the 'Street of Harmony' through these attributes: attachment to place, belonging, the authenticity of place, ownership over the place and stewardship, which are discussed below. I have examined the different attributes to understand how local communities from different backgrounds relate to the place and the types of bond they have with the place. I argue that these attributes are interrelated and can contribute to a better understanding of sense of place. These attributes show that the local communities at the 'Street of Harmony' have emotional and spiritual attachments to the place, which creates the sense of place (Agnew, 1987; Silva, 2009). There are also attachments to the tangible elements at site recorded during the study.

5.4.1 Attachment to place

Attachment to place is the emotional bond developed between people and a place. The 'Street of Harmony' provides a multi-layered attachment that is connected by both its tangible and intangible heritage. Seven categories of place attachment emerged from the study, namely the sensory experience, narrative connection, historical connection, spiritual connection, ideological connection, commodifying and material dependence (Cross, 2015). These categories describe how the interviewees relate to the 'Street of Harmony'. Majority of the interviewees have more than one type of attachments to the place.

5.4.1.1 Sensory experience

Individuals use their senses differently, and the sensory experience is important for place attachment and emotional bond to the place. At the 'Street of Harmony', some sensory experiences of the place are more likely to lead to place attachment than others – many interviewees focused on what they see, hear and smell when they are at the 'Street of Harmony'. Visually, many interviewees identified the tangible elements, especially all the places of worship, religious and cultural activities, street performances and even the beggars found on the street. In terms of smell, many described the smell of the burning joss sticks at Kuan Yin Temple, the smell of the variety of flowers at the flower garland stalls, and 'nasi kandar' (steamed rice with curry dishes) at the Nasi Kandar Beratur restaurant, among others (see Figure 5.9). One interviewee told how the smell of burning joss sticks at the Kuan Yin temple reminds her on her childhood memories of visiting the temple. Many interviewees also identified the sound of 'adzan' (call for prayers) from the mosques, sounds from vehicles, especially the cars, buses,

and motorcycles, and the sound of prayer bells from the Sri Mahamariamman Temple. One interviewee told how the sound of 'adzan' from Kapitan Keling Mosque reminds him of his experience of growing up at a shophouse near the 'Street of Harmony'. Another interviewee told that the sensory experience is rich and it changes as he walked from the St. George's church towards Acheen Street Malay Mosque. He believes that one can never experience it other than at the 'Street of Harmony' and that made him have strong attachment to the place. Feel and taste have not really been discussed by the interviewees.

Figure 5.9: The smell of flowers from the flower garland stalls; the beggars and unfortunates who line up for food and the smell of giant joss sticks are some of the experiences captured at the Kuan Yin Temple.
Source: The Author.

An architect expressed his interest in architecture, the settlement pattern and the cultural activities taking place along the street. He used photos, videos, maps, and drawings while explaining his sensory experience:

> I saw the difference of architectures, where different religious buildings represent different cultures, and different religions: that is the most important thing. Then, followed by the activities, prayers, or festivals that happened in particular buildings. Actually, more festivals, prayers happened in the Kuan Yin Temple and Hindu [Sri Mahamariamman] Temple, compared to the mosques and church. I think the church is the least in terms of activities. Even every Sunday, there are not many followers who go to church … For Kuan Yin

> [Temple], almost every day you can see prayers, and not to mention some of the festivals, besides the birthday of Kuan Yin [Goddess of Mercy], there are other festivals like Chinese New Year, or other deities' birthdays … I do not think Ganesha [shrine] existed in the early days; maybe 30 to 40 years ago it became popular. Then, almost every day you can see people praying [at the mosque], every Friday, and followed by the Sri Mahamariamman Temple. Of course Deepavali, the deities' birthdays, among them, a few are very great, big events. One of them is Navarathiri, which was celebrated not long ago.

The architect described the Ganesha Shrine (see Figure 5.10) – a small shrine near Kuan Yin Temple and the flower garland stalls, which is rarely mentioned by other interviewees. He also explained the changes of the type of material and decoration used on the road surface in front of the Kuan Yin Temple up to the Kapitan Keling Mosque. His interest in architecture, culture and heritage conservation makes him more aware of the surroundings and changes that take place at the 'Street of Harmony'.

Figure 5.10: The Ganesha Shrine located in-between the Kuan Yin Temple and also the flower garland stalls.
Source: The Author.

An interviewee who was born and raised in Jalan Masjid Kapitan Keling for more than 40 years, considered that what he experienced had been integrated into his everyday life. He had this to say about his sensory experiences:

> Small trades, small shops, funeral processions, cultural events, celebrations or performances, and the marking of different festivals of different communities were visible. Whether you are on the way to school and you passed by the mosque or a temple, or you hear the sound of the church, or you see people who go to temple to pray, it is always the hustle and bustle of the city that was present.

An officer from GTWHI, who has been working in George Town for almost 20 years, explained how she relates smell to certain activities and beliefs of local communities existing in and around the 'Street of Harmony':

> Activities in Little India indeed has its own character. It has the sounds and the smell that show the [existence] of the community in Little India. At the Kuan Yin Temple, in the morning there will be worshipping activities, which produce smell [from incense sticks], and also the selling of flowers from the Indians [at the flower garlands stall] … I think that the smell present identity of the communities nearby.

The two quotes above suggest that when people are attached to a place for a long time, they tend to see the place as 'one', by tying the elements into common sensations. They also see the activities happening at the place as normal phenomena, and not something extraordinary, unlike visitors.

5.4.1.2 Narrative attachment

Local communities are also attached to a place when they have narrative relationship to it. These include the naming of places, stories told by past generations, and family history. A representative from GTWHI told how the Acheen Street Malay Mosque and its surrounding area was known as 'the Gateway to Mecca'. Pilgrims from Southeast

Asia gathered there to make a journey by ship to Jeddah and then to Mecca. They purchased tickets, shopped and attended religious classes while waiting for the hajj ship. He later explained about the ending of Lebuh Acheh as the centre of hajj travel, and the decline of the Malay community due to development pressure:

> It ended when the Muslim pilgrims go to the holy land of Mecca using the aeroplane, and no longer the ship in the 1970s. The [Malay] community began to isolate [themselves]; many I knew bought a home in Kulim [Kedah]. Last time, here [in George Town] with 20 or 30 thousand or 40 thousand [ringgit Malaysia] you can only get a flat house, but in Kulim, 40 thousand [ringgit Malaysia] you can get a medium cost, or a medium-low cost [house].

The representative of the Sri Mahamariamman Temple reminisced about a historical event relating to the place, describing how the Hindu temple has not only served as a place to be connected spiritually but also socially since the early days. He stated:

> In 1801 the temple was constructed in this particular place … It was just an attap [roof] building … This is also a place where all Indian labourers will be around … Apart from praying, they came here to socialise.

Another narrative that came out from the interviews is related to the reason why the two mosques (Kapitan Keling Mosque and Acheen Street Malay Mosque) which are situated not far from each other, do alternate Friday prayers since the 1850s. A Malay local resident told the story, which was passed down from his grandparents. It started when the mosques disagreed on the date of Eid:

> Last time, the pious people from the Acheen Street Malay Mosque heard that people from the Kapitan Keling Mosque do not want to celebrate Eid just yet; they want to continue fasting [for another day]. Here, we [at the Acheen Street Malay Mosque] performed 29 days [of fasting], but there [at the Kapitan Keling Mosque] they wanted to complete fasting for 30 days. So, that morning, my grandparents told me, they fired the cannon; they fired the artillery cannon with a picture on it. This is to announce that the next day will be Eid. But some Indian Muslims did not agree [with the announcement] … So, the fight happened. In order to reconcile the two parties, they started to make alternate Friday prayers. Today is Friday, so today we will perform the Friday prayer

> there [at the Kapitan Keling Mosque]. So, next Friday, we will perform Friday prayer here [at the Acheen Street Malay Mosque].

His story provided a useful insight on how attachment also relates to the issue of the identity of people and place. This is especially true with regard to the identity of two Muslim groups in George Town – the Malay Muslims and the Indian Muslims. Indian Muslims take pride in their heritage, and their presence is still largely visible through their businesses and Kapitan Keling Mosque, whereas the Malays are disappearing from the 'Malay town' day by day due to development pressure. An owner of a jewellery shop explained how the 'Street of Harmony' was once known for its 'Gold Bazaar'. In 2005, there was a proposal from the state government to revitalise the area, called the Gold Bazaar project. He expressed his concern:

> It was a centre [of gold trading and retail centre], and people already knew about this place. The Kapitan Keling Mosque [street] was well known; it was where the gold shops were [located]. Because [at] this road, there are the Malays, at the back of the mosque is the Chinese [population]. So, there was a link [of business]. We used to have one gold centre here, like in Dubai. But I see the government and the council [state religious council as the manager of the endowment land that houses many of the gold shops], they do not want to cooperate.

Due to management problems, the project was not successful, and the identity of the place as a Gold Bazaar then deteriorated. From the narratives, I found that whenever people talk about the intangible heritage, they will also relate the story to the tangible heritage, and vice versa. Identity of a place also relates to the way the cultural heritage is being managed.

5.4.1.3 Historical connection

In terms of historical connection to a place, a leader of the Indian Muslim community described his experience on the celebration of Prophet Muhammad's birthday or the 'Maulud Nabi' celebration back in the 1950s when he was part of the community residing around the area of the 'Street of Harmony':

> My father was selling vegetables in the market, and there I saw a lot of the Indian Muslim community. The place back then looked very lively. We were staying near the toddy shop … Once a year there is Maulud [celebration of Prophet Muhammad's birthday]; there were two or three shops that became hosts for the celebration. The Maulud celebration followed the tradition brought by the village community from their country of origin – India.

His descriptions highlighted the key components of historical attachment, which are the important life event and their relationship to their country of origin. He continued to explain the Maulud celebration, which according to him lasted up until the year 2000:

> In front of the shop was a big and tall pole. Then they called a very important Indian Muslim leader … There were prayers before the flag is raised … 'Sharbat' [a sweet and flavoured drink] will be served. It is a combination of jellies; you can put grapes in it; many ingredients were used … Then, they had about five to six people including older people from India who stayed there to play small drums. A day before the 12 days' celebration ended, they called another important Indian Muslim leader to lower the flag. On that day, they cooked a few pots of 'nasi minyak' [ghee rice] near the roadside ... After reading Maulud that night, they will distribute the packed 'nasi minyak'. Any person can take the rice – Chinese, Hindu – all took the rice.

His story revealed how historical attachment is also dependant on the time spent in that place. Meanwhile, Penang's former politician reminisced about some of his memories around the place – going to Pitt Street by bus to visit a stamp collection shop during his childhood days. He became more attached to the place while performing his duties, which required him to get involved with community activities. He stated:

> The Chinese communities were very active … They celebrated Phor Tor or the Hungry Ghost festival … The Chinese and Buddhist believed that after people

> die, the soul are still hanging around, and they are hungry, especially those who died without family. So, the seventh month of the Chinese [calendar] is called the month of the Hungry Ghost. They [the Chinese communities] have 'wayang' [Chinese opera performance and live concert to entertain the wandering spirits] … They will get a troop of wayang, either Cantonese of Teochew, then, later on, it became very noisy. Pop music [was also considered] wayang. Now they cannot get all the old 'wayang' troops anymore, there are some, but they have to get them from Muar, Batu Pahat, and from southern Thailand.

A representative from GTWHI explained how she is attached to the street based on her personal and official life experience:

> I was one of those who were involved in the preparation of an inventory of buildings in this area … When I passed by the Gold Bazaar, I remember that once I bought jewellery at the shop, in front of the Kapitan Keling Mosque.

An old resident of Acheen Street Malay Mosque's waqf land expressed his love of the place by keeping a large number of old photos, newspaper cuttings, documents and prints related to his family and the mosque. Many were inherited from his father, and the collection progressively expands over the years:

> I still keep a book from my Primary 1 at the Malay school in the 1940s. My late father loved to keep Eid cards since [the year] 1937, 1936. His collections include wedding cards and death documents … When people send me invitation cards for wedding, I will keep it. I keep cards from my Indian friends, some villagers, and siblings too.

Born and living there for more than 70 years, the old resident proudly recited a four-line old Malay poem (directly translated to English by myself), as an expression of his love for the Malay culture, his Achehnese root and family history:

> Orang Acheh pulang ke Acheh (Acheh people went back to Acheh)
> Ikan kurau disangka senangin (King threadfin thought to be blue threadfin fish)
> Bukan mudah bercerai kasih (It is not easy to end our love)
> Laksana wau menanti angin. (Like a kite waiting for the wind).

Just as other interviewees relate the place to their personal experience and culture, a foreign exchange business owner at the 'Street of Harmony' described a story about his parents and grandparents that evokes an attachment to the place. This indicates that people relate to a place not only based on their happy memories and good life experience but also to bad ones too. As a third generation engaged in family business, his attachment was more to the history of his family, although some parts of it were hurtful:

> In terms of history, my great-grandparent's father were from India who came to Penang to do business. My great-grandparent was killed by a bomb during the Japanese occupation, here, behind Queen Street.

An officer from the Heritage Department of MBPP told her connection to the street is based on her attachment to Kuan Yin Temple since her young age. Even though she was laughing while explaining the situation, she looked frustrated over the changes happening at the temple. She stated:

> I am familiar with the Kuan Yin Temple, but it is totally different now. Previously, we can pray inside, we can put the joss sticks inside the building. But now you cannot put the joss sticks inside [the temple]. [You] have to put them outside. Because they [the Board of Trustees] said the smoke would get to the ceiling and become all black … The smoke is smelly. … So, after that I did not go [there anymore].

Changing the rules for worshippers of the temple has distressed the interviewee. To her, culture needs to be in relation to its context so that heritage is not protected by keeping its practitioners away from it. The relationship with the tangible and intangible heritage, in this case, had changed, when the ritual was changed (Figure 5.11).

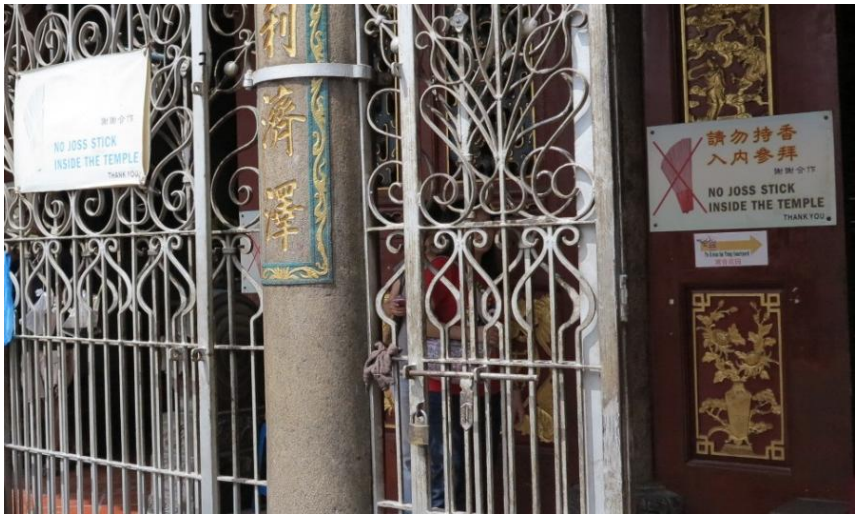

Figure 5.11: The new regulations at Kuan Yin Temple, which do not allow worshippers to bring the burning joss sticks inside the temple.
Source: The Author.

Historical connection is most related to time and at the 'Street of Harmony', the connection varies with personal history, family history and also cultural history (Cross, 2015). Some interviewees, especially the Indian Muslims and Malays, relate the history with their country of origin, to express their love and memories about the place.

5.4.1.4 Spiritual connection

Another type of attachment is the spiritual attachment, which is described as a deep feeling of belonging to the place. A member of staff of the Kapitan Keling Mosque who has been working and residing in the waqf land of the mosque had difficulty in describing how he felt about the place:

> If I go out from this area, even to my sister's house, I will feel something is missing. I feel like I want to go back to the mosque [as soon as I can]. It is the environment [that attracts].

It suggests a deep connection to the place, which infer that this insight is due to his time spent at the mosque and its compound, 24 hours, seven days a week.

5.4.1.5 Ideological connection

At the 'Street of Harmony' where various people of different backgrounds, culture, and ethnicity live together, it is important to hold ethical codes and respect diverse cultures. An Indian Muslim youth leader, who is also a resident of Jalan Masjid Kapitan Keling saw the importance of taking care of the Indian Muslim identity, history and heritage (see Figure 5.12). He made an effort to lead the youth of Indian Muslims in several projects to find their roots and proudly showcasing their identity. He explained:

> Previously, for the Indian Muslims, there were no historical values that are documented, recorded, or published, and most of the history of the Indian Muslim community are unavailable … Since my involvement under the heritage committee, we try to restore the history of the Indian Muslim community through the Kapitan Keling Mosque … A book was launched [which gives] a complete documentation of the history… We provide oral documentary on our website: indiamuslim.tv, and various documentation including books and Penang Story Lectures with regard to the Indian Muslim community.

Another viewpoint on how to live in the 'Street of Harmony' is through seeing the street as having shared values. The 'Journey of Harmony' project, which started in 2014, was a collaboration between Think City, the Arts-ED, and the communities who live and interact with the site. Four shared elements were selected to represent the site: light, moon, flora, and water. The output of the project is a pamphlet, which promotes a self-guided tour to explore the site. The project has opened up possibilities in understanding both the tangible and intangible heritage values, and is important for the protection of the site.

Figure 5.12: A booklet of the Kapitan Keling Mosque which describes about the history, architecture of the Mosque, the community of Indian Muslims and illustrates the extent of waqf properties.
Source: Booklet of Kapitan Keling Mosque George Town World Heritage Site (Nasution, 2016a).

5.4.1.6 Commodifying

The 'Street of Harmony' offered a commodifying attachment based on required characteristics of a place for certain individuals. A cultural activist who owns a bookstore at the 'Street of Harmony' expressed his idea on why the location is ideal for his business. He explained:

> When I was looking for office space and especially to open up a bookshop, two criteria struck me as being very important straight away. One, the street is a historical thoroughfare of George Town. Two, it is also relatively accessible because it sits right at the heart of the UNESCO's core heritage zone. The street itself probably is the most pedestrianised; it has the most walkers, pedestrians of any street in George Town. So these two elements: the historical resonance of the street and its accessibility were very important considerations for me … This street had always had bookshops, traditionally had bookshops. If you go to the other end, at the Lebuh Acheh area, that was one of the two major hubs for the Malay publishing and printing industry from the late 19th century, from 1890s and onwards.

He has chosen the best combination of attractive features of the street based on his needs for the business. Here, both the tangible and intangible heritage of the 'Street of Harmony' has turned into commodities.

5.4.1.7 Material dependence

The 'Street of Harmony' has also provided a particular setting that satisfies the needs and goals of certain individuals, both in terms of material needs and social reliance. A cultural interpreter revealed her dependence on the place as her former office was once located at the street and the new current office is very near to the 'Street of Harmony'. Place dependency also provides her with social connections with the users of the street. She commented:

> I feel connected because I have been working here for years. I feel connected because [of my] relationship with the people. When we work, we get in touch with people and strangers become friends.

A representative from St George's Church explained both her and her husband's attachment to the church from being only a member of the congregation for the church to working for the church. She described:

> Initially, we used to come to church every Sunday. When we knew that the church was searching for church guides, [and the fact that] my husband speaks nine different languages, so I thought 'wow, that has his name on it' (laughing) … So, that was how we started. We were church members before we did anything else.

However, the material dependence discussed above could shift over time, depending on limitations, choices that people make, and on what the place has to offer. In terms of place attachment, this section of the chapter has described the dynamic and multidimensional aspects of place attachment in the 'Street of Harmony'. The findings

revealed that interviewees seem to describe their attachment by relating it to intangible heritage more compared to tangible heritage. This finding is consistent with the study conducted by Harrison and Rose (2010), which stated that it is the intangible element that connects people with the sense of attachment to a place. However, when talking about the intangibles, the interviewees talked about their physical manifestation to provide a detailed description and these include the context and buildings. The study also provides an important insight that complements with the ideas of Cross (2015) on place attachment as a dynamic interactional experience that moves through space and place.

5.4.2 Belonging

With respect to belonging to a place, there is a positive relationship between involvement in the place-related activities and the sense of belonging to the place. This simply means that people who are reported to be frequently or actively involved in place-related activities (some more than others) also tended to report a greater sense of belonging to the place. Some of the place-related activities in the 'Street of Harmony' are heritage conservation and cultural activities. A cultural interpreter explained how her involvement with cultural projects at the 'Street of Harmony' has made her feel a sense of belonging to the place:

> This is a small place, you have a considerable [number of] group of cultural workers who know each other … You [tend to] bound up with each other, and say hi. So, it is another form of community by itself. It is another sense of belonging for me. The sharing of information, sharing of gossip among the practitioners, yup, sense of belonging.

Moreover, understanding the local community's needs and maintaining a good relationship with them does have a big impact on how people belong to the place. Good

relationships and trust could develop over the years and create connections between local communities and place. Not only does this provide benefits in terms of the sense of belonging when there is engagement with the community, but some people may also derive a sense of belonging from socialising beyond work-related activities. A representative from Arts-ED shared stories on how she has developed the sense of belonging while working on the 'Journey of Harmony' project since 2014, which involves the local communities:

> Because of [the] project, we became friends. You go back [to the place], and you say hi. Then they will tell you, 'The other day, this thing happened'. Sometimes if they have a problem, they will just ask, 'Hey, how do I talk about this [to] MBPP?', 'Can you read the letter for me?'… I think it is because they see you as part of the local residents (laughing). I would not say all of them, but sometimes they will just see you as a point to obtain advice … So, it becomes more of a network of friends.

Another interesting example is from an owner of a traditional trade shop who explained about the many types of place-related activities at the 'Street of Harmony' in which he and his father took part. Other than involvement with religious activities at the Kapitan Keling Mosque, they were also willing to participate in activities ranging from the celebration of George Town as a WHS to welfare activities, and even taking care of the security of the place, among others. He explained:

> We took part in the George Town World Heritage Day organised annually in July. The first year if I am not mistaken, we were selected as the living museum by the organiser, because our business is considered as an old trade. They invited us to participate, so we opened our shop for the visitors.

An owner of a bookshop who is also active in cultural projects expressed his opinion on how belonging to a place is also related to the history of the place with the book publishing business and hajj trade. He stated:

> One of the big aspects of book publishing bookshops was, of course, the presence of the two mosques [Kapitan Keling Mosque and Acheen Street Malay Mosque]. Because this also meant that religious books were available not only for the congregation of the two mosques, but Penang [back then] was one of the centres of the hajj trade. So people came to Penang when the hajj trade was still done by ship; it was one of the major ports. And people would come from all over South East Asia, either to Singapore or Penang. There were ships going to Jeddah, and then from Jeddah going to Hajj in Mecca. That also helped to stimulate publishing and book selling. There was also a big presence of communities with their origins from Acheh and Medan, across the straits. So, I like to see the bookshop as belonging partly to its very local communities and partly to a more borderless communities part of the region.

Belonging also relates to the experience of being a newcomer in a place. The owner of a bakery shop told how she had to struggle to overcome the fear of being rejected and not belonging a few years back. She acknowledged the importance of being accepted in the new environment, being part of the community, to feel cared about, needed, and valued. She explained:

> I am proud to have a business in the heritage area. I am so thankful to the religious council [MAINPP] for giving us a chance [to do business]. In fact, when we first opened [the shop], some of the people here, especially the 'mamak' [Indian Muslims], they were reluctant to accept us. They thought we were outsiders, from another state, to come here and open new business. So, when we did our opening ceremony, we invited them … Only then they knew, that we are also local [Penang]. They started to accept [our existence]. They give their support too. Some of them came to order [food], and they sometimes came for chit-chatting. We also have a good support from the Chairman of Kapitan Keling Mosque; he always encourages us to serve especially the tourists, as it is not so easy to get tourist to come to a Malay shop.

Generally, it is found that the sense of belonging is strong especially in people who are involved with place-related activities. The sense of belonging in people also maintains the feeling of belonging to their ethnic group, for example, the Indian Muslim community. It is also revealed that the sense of belonging to a place develops over time. This is consistent with the ideas of Miller (2003) that belonging to place also relates to

the community, history and locality. Being important within the community and being accepted in a group also enhances the sense of belonging, especially for the newcomers.

5.4.3 Authenticity of place

Another attribute of the sense of place relates to the authenticity of the place. Here I refer to the OUV of George Town WHS to discuss the authenticity of the site. When discussing how OUV have set up a standard for the values of the site, it is important to relate it with authenticity and integrity. As stated above, the 'Street of Harmony' represents part of the multicultural trading town of George Town. Not only religious pluralism is seen at each place of worship, but the activities and programmes also spill over into the street. The street is used for processions such as the Chingay parade, and small temple processions, where there will be road closures and control of traffic will be assisted by volunteers and policemen (see Figure 5.13).

However, the 'Street of Harmony' is facing problems of displacement and loss of the residential population. This problem has started since the repeal of the Rent Control Act in 2000. Many residents could not afford to stay in the inner city and opted to move to other places. A tour guide who grew up in the inner city of George Town explained how the city has changed after the inscription as WHS in 2008:

> A lot of people moved out from their house because of evictions. The city is moving too fast for the last ten years. More people moved out from the city, not because they want to, but they have to. They were asked to leave, so they go. George Town will be an empty city.

Figure 5.13: The Chingay parade that utilises nearly the whole stretch of the 'Street of Harmony' and has participation from across the multicultural community of Penang. Source: The Author.

A representative of GTHWI expressed his concern on how the OUVs, especially those related to the multicultural aspects, could be harmed by the activity of tourism. He stated:

> Tourism became the main factor. It threatened the OUV by the fact that the city is a port city. Various cultures means people are working and residing there, in George Town. Then it has become a tourist city in which, instead of serving as a house, it [shophouse] has become a souvenir shop. Instead of [a building] serving as a house, it has become a hotel or a boutique hotel. Instead of a home, it has become a museum for example, which is the main threat [to the city's residents].

This concern is also shared by a historian, who is also a strong heritage advocate in Penang. She believed sustainability is the answer to keep the values of the site, and people the most important aspect of a place. She explained:

> Penang Heritage Trust keeps on saying that "We should have people staying in Georgetown". Because we have to resist that kind of idea that, it is just for restaurants, pubs and what not – tourist businesses. The city is for people to live … The 'Street of Harmony' teaches us about the coexistence, but the old city teaches us about how to live in a more sustainable manner because we have climate-appropriate architecture and all that. But if people are not staying there, then it defeats the whole purpose.

Another issue on authenticity is how the authenticity of a place is bounded by the people who hold power over the heritage asset. The rituals taking place at the Kuan Yin Temple have changed due to tourism, in making sure that the place looks attractive for the tourists. The Board of Trustees of the temple has decided to keep the premises smoke-free. The lit joss sticks are prohibited from the temple, and it has created an issue where some devotees feel that they are being disconnected from God. It also tells us that when the representatives of the temple do not understand the issue of the authenticity of rituals, it could jeopardise the tradition, rituals, and their relation to the tangible aspect of heritage.

The OUV criterion (iv) for George Town relates to its architecture, culture, and townscape. Based on the SAP, the local authorities have produced guidelines and procedures to allow certain changes to take place that would conform to the cultural values and heritage integrity. The local authorities have also created inventories of these buildings and built up planning data to facilitate monitoring of future restoration and conservation works in the WHS. From my observations, the majority of the façades of the shophouses are still in good condition and remain relatively intact. Some owners

took ownership to take care of their buildings by painting them and doing minor repair works. However, there are also tenants who do not have the financial resources to undertake any repairs.

Among the important characters of the townscape in the ‘Street of Harmony’ are the shophouses and townhouses, and one of the elements that attracted my attention is the function of the five-foot ways. In George Town, five-foot ways at many shophouses are blocked by permanent and temporary materials such as business goods, vehicles, grilles, and plywood panels (see Figure 5.14), which has made the usage of the five-foot way decline over the years. The walkways are not friendly to pedestrians anymore, even though their main purpose was to provide shelter from sun and rain, and become social space as well. It is important to make sure that the removal of these obstructions will not jeopardise the historical elements and authenticity of the buildings.

While walking at the site every day during my fieldwork, I found it difficult to maintain my comfort in walking, as there were always obstructions along the way, and I had to move into the street. However, while strolling along the five-foot ways, I remember finding myself becoming more interested in the goods sold in the shop, interacting with the shopkeepers who are sitting outside the shop while waiting for buyers, noticing what attracts tourists to the shop, and the condition of the shop. I also then became aware of the sun orientation and when the blinds were closed halfway for the shopkeepers to get shade from the sunlight for their shop.

Figure 5.14: Five-foot ways at the ‘Street of Harmony’ that have been blocked by grilles, and other personal belongings.
Source: The Author.

It is also important that the use of the five-foot ways as a shared space will not create any unnecessary problems on the division between public and private space. An academic, who is also a heritage conservator, explained his view:

> When we are talking about private houses [like townhouses], definitely part of the ‘kaki lima’ or five-foot way is quite private … It is best to have a continuous five-foot way, regardless of whether it is a house [townhouse] or shophouses, but we need to consider privacy for the tenants, [and] for the house members because that is the entrance for their household. I think the users, the public may agree if they occasionally have to step onto the street. Avoid this ‘kaki lima’, because that one belongs to the private ownership. On the other hand, that will give a certain demarcation, you know, this is a townhouse; this is a shophouse.

In terms of authenticity of form, design, materials, and techniques used for the buildings in the ‘Street of Harmony’, three examples can be given which involve places of worship – the renovation of the Kuan Yin Temple, the renovation of Sri Mahamariamman Temple, and the replacement of the dome of Kapitan Keling Mosque. I met an architect who is also a building conservator who commented on the

authenticity of the buildings by referring to images on his computer screen. He started on St George's Church:

> St George's Church which has recently being restored is one of the heritage [buildings], gazetted under the National Heritage Act. But to me, the colour used is not correct (laughing). The [original] colour of the door and the base [of the building] should be green … Look, it was green [showing image of the church during its early years of establishment] … For hygiene purpose during the colonial time, they will paint the five-foot way or the foot of the building in black.

He was commenting on the recent conservation work of the church. Based on his research, the selection of colours made by the consultants were wrong, which, therefore, had erased the authenticity of the church and its relation to history. I also asked him about the issue of authenticity of the design and form of the Sri Mahamariamman Temple, which undertakes minor renovation works ('kumbhabhishekam' a ritual practice to consecrate or re-consecrate a temple) every 12 years, and major renovation every 50 years. He explained:

> I think for the Chinese and Indian, they will say that if they are not doing the renovations, they are not glorifying their God … So, they will try to make it more beautiful, [but] that is conflicting with conservation (laughing). Now, easily [you can see] the Sri Mahamariamman [Temple], [there are] a lot of major changes. I think they [pro-heritage group] tried to persuade them [the management of the temple], but they did not listen. Even we complained that they are using cement to restore the building; it is not proper [building material], but they just do not care (laughing).

On another perspective, a representative from GTWHI feels that there is nothing wrong with the 'kumbhabhishekam' ritual, as it is the authenticity of intangible heritage that was given more attention than the tangible heritage. The architect cum building conservator also talked about how the issue of authenticity involves the aspect of management of the site and the implementation of project. He stated his frustration over the Kuan Yin Temple project:

> They [Board of Trustees] tried to build a new building, without permission (laughing while showing some images). We tried to stop them. Even the local council have issued two or three times a stop [work] order, before they actually stopped [the construction] … They [Board of Trustees] thought the building belongs to them; they can do whatever they want. They wanted to build a gate, a fence with an arch in front … That was in 2014. In fact, I have prepared a PowerPoint [presentation on best conservation practice], it was supposed to be presented to the CM [Chief Minister of Penang] and GTWHI, but at the last minute, they called off the meeting.

The fact that several places of worship at the 'Street if Harmony' are a Category 1 (buildings or monuments of exceptional interest that have been declared historic and designated under the Antiquities Act 1976 and are registered under the National Heritage Act 2005), has made it a challenge for conservators and other heritage supporters to maintain authenticity. He continued to explain the materials and techniques used for the conservation work, while comparing them with the original photos of the building. To him, every building must be conserved to its original use, form, to maintain its authenticity. He also expressed his worry on the level of commitment from the local authority, especially the Heritage Department of MBPP, in dealing with the issue of compliance with building or development guidelines in a project:

> We have several meetings with the owner and the monk at the Kuan Yin temple. In the end, we cannot do anything. Look at the sculpture and the detail of construction … Public are not aware [of these changes]. For the decoration, they should use the cut and paste technique 'jian nian' but they used the ready-made ones instead … Like this [decoration], it carries no meaning, no iconography in Chinese architecture … They also used modern paint, so it affects the restoration.

Apart from the tangible heritage, the 'Street of Harmony' is also concerned with the issue of loss of the intangible heritage. While the PHT is working to update the inventory list of the intangible heritage, from my observations, there are traditional

trades that have disappeared from the ‘Street of Harmony’. They could have been relocated somewhere else as the premises have changed in function, or in the worst case – the trade has totally lost. There is also an issue of the products sold at many souvenir or trinket shops in which most of the goods are unrelated to the site, and are not locally produced.

Another issue of authenticity is the challenge of gentrification where building owners have changed the use of their buildings based on demands of economic development and tourism. For the ‘Street of Harmony’, the replacement of living spaces with commercial and business uses brings about a change in the original character of the street. Sadly, the townhouses at Cannon Street have become a business place as well, contradicting the original use as a residence. Such changes have to be guided and monitored so that they do not undermine the values of the WHS. Another concern is to make sure the public realms project in the SAP complements with the OUV. The streets of the WHS have traditionally shared spaces where changing patterns, performances, rituals and festivals are some of the elements that contribute to the unique character of the place.

The authenticity of the ‘Street of Harmony’ relates to both the tangible and intangible aspects of heritage. I agree with Ouf (2001) that the authenticity of the tangible heritage and intangible heritage need to be taken care of in conserving urban area like George Town. However, it is arguable in defining what is authentic, who should decide what is authentic and what are the levels of authenticity, and this include ‘Street as Harmony’ as a site with diverse culture and heritage. Even though the 2017 Operational Guidelines

has suggested a list of attributes in meeting the conditions of authenticity, it is challenging to determine the truthfulness and credibility in terms of authenticity. At the 'Street of Harmony', the authenticity depends on the way the local communities and authorised groups decide to present them, and the way the relationships between 'objects, people and places across time' are being taken care of (Jones, 2009: 11). Therefore, as defining authenticity is difficult in this constantly change world, authenticity should be recognised as a dynamic concept (Khalaf, 2018).

5.4.4 Ownership over place

As part of the WHS, ownership of the 'Street of Harmony' belongs to the State Party, and is of interest to the international community. This has changed the exclusivity of the site, from a local/state/federal asset, to become an asset for the whole world, even to the international communities that never have physical contact with the site. In 2016, a coalition of the non-government organisations in Penang, which grouped themselves under the Penang Forum, voiced their concerns and sent a letter to the UNESCO World Heritage Centre. The contents of the letter were to request the body to assess George Town WHS, as the proposed development – the Penang Transport Master Plan (PTMP) was very near the heritage area and could affect the OUV. It has created tension between GTWHI as the manager of the site and Penang Forum, as the letter was sent directly to UNESCO without first alerting GTWHI or the National Heritage Department. GTWHI was concerned about the site, which may be delisted because of this issue. However, Penang Forum in their defence said that anybody could send a letter as the site has become the concern of the international community, which creates a collective ownership of the site.

At the ‘Street of Harmony’, the title WHS does bring positive impacts to the community regarding heritage, tourism, and economic aspects, among others. However, some stakeholders claimed the ownership of the place as an individual or community group. A Penangite who runs a traditional trade – a coffee shop at the ‘Street of Harmony’ – expressed his sense of ownership of the place by setting out the future of his shop. He stated:

> When several people asked me, ‘How do you [plan to] sustain this heritage business? Or will the business end when you are gone [passed away]?’ I said, ‘No, my son will take over.’

Even though his shop is under waqf (endowment) land, he does not own or have property rights on it; but he feels that he has control over the place. He was also defensive over the name ‘Street of Harmony’:

> No, I do not want Harmony [the name to change to ‘Street of Harmony’]. Do not try to be smart and change it. I grew up here; there are not many Chinese here, but a lot of Mamak [Indian Muslims].

This is an example of how local community, in this case the Indian Muslim community, claim ownership over the place. The idea of getting the community to claim ownership of place is supported by Think City, which is responsible for the revitalisation project in George Town. Under the Think City's George Town Grants Programme (GTGP), grants were given for community-focused projects. A high-ranking officer from Think City explained:

> It is based on the needs and efforts of the community to be part of the urban improvement programme … Because we believe that if people need some kind of improvements, they have to be part of that process and take ownership of it. We are only facilitating and supporting. The driver in the form of the improvement should be the community themselves, and that is one of the things that we try to encourage.

Another way to express ownership over the site is based on self-investment and being responsible for the site. A heritage advocate, who grew up and lives in George Town, explained the importance of the place in connecting the past and the future by using the tangible and intangible heritage. For example, during the opening of the Gerak Budaya bookshop that is located right in the middle of the 'Street of Harmony', he brought a coconut tree and planted it in front of the shop to remind people about the history and memories of the place (see Figure 5.15). The 'Street of Harmony' was once known as the 'place with coconut trees', and he considered his effort as contributing to the identity of place. He also tirelessly participates in the 'Interfaith Walk' or 'Religious Walk' on promoting diversity, common values, and harmony at the 'Street of Harmony', since it started in 2006.

Self-investment through personalisation of space, for example, by putting plants in front of the shophouses, or display boards, and unique floor treatment is also considered as demonstrating ownership (see Figure 5.16). Even though some of the techniques to personalise the space increase responsibility and make residents take care of the site better, there are also negative aspects of personalisation, for example, using the grill to block the five-foot way, which changes how people move around the site.

Figure 5.15: The coconut tree planted in front of Gerak Budaya bookshop, which is located in the middle of the 'Street of Harmony'.
Source: The Author.

Figure 5.16: Personalisation to show ownership of space.
Source: The Author.

While ownership is easy to present in terms of tangible elements, it is challenging to discuss the ownership of intangible elements. The efforts of PHT in preparing inventories of intangible heritage in George Town WHS are appreciated, as the process requires communities involvement in providing information, especially from those who own the asset. However, while documenting it, the intangible heritage might change

over time, such as skills being shared, being copied with some manipulation, or the bearer of the intangible heritage may die. The Penang Apprenticeship Programme for Artisans (PAPA) organised by the PHT in 2009 aimed to train apprentices to sustain traditional trades and skills, for example, rattan weavers, wood carvers, and traditional goldsmiths in George Town. The new artisans are then expected to continue the skills and techniques of the artisans. However, the question of ownership of the intangible heritage remains uncertain.

Ownership also involves the usage of site. Part of the 'Street of Harmony' are assigned for specific uses, for example, St George's Church is a place of worship for Anglican adherents, where the building relates to the users in both tangible and intangible aspects. The panel displayed near the side entrance of the church, which is near to the open public parking and states: 'Private Property. Commercial Photography including pre-wedding photograph is not allowed. Call church office at 04-2612733 for arrangement details. Church staff are not authorised to give on the spot permission' (see Figure 5.17). The car park is also under the management of the church, as it is in their compound, which gives them the benefit of accumulating income. This means that although a building has been assigned to a specific use, the owner is entitled to possession and use of the land.

Figure 5.17: The panel displayed at the side entrance of the St George's Church compound.
Source: The Author.

Another example is the system of waqf land around the Kapitan Keling Mosque, where the properties were donated by Kapitan Keling himself for the benefit of the Muslim community. Since 1903, the waqf (endowment) properties were under the management of the colonial authorities (under the Mahomedan and Hindu Endowment Board), but after 1960 management and development were put under the powers of the ruler or governor of the state, who has delegated the power to the Penang Islamic Religious Council (MAINPP). MAINPP has been administrating matters relating to waqf lands, as it plays an important role in providing land rights to Muslims, in this case, in the prime area of George Town WHS. The waqf land of Kapitan Keling Mosque also has been used over the years to provide Muslims with housing, a place of worship, an Islamic school, kindergarten, offices, shops, and green spaces, among others. The same case goes for the waqf land at the Acheen Street Malay Mosque, which was founded by an Achehnese aristocrat, Tengku Syed Hussain Al-Aidid. It reflects the identity of the

Malay Muslim, whereas Kapitan Keling Mosque reflects the Indian Muslim identity. The Muslim community considers the waqf properties in the urban area of Penang as their last defence in maintaining their existence, as the current population of George Town consists of a majority of Chinese. The use of waqf land does not only benefit the Muslim community in terms of providing advantages for living, doing business, and obtaining an education in the strategic urban area, but also gives character to the place, and provides spiritual and emotional attachment to the place as well.

However, the study found that the management of waqf lands in the 'Street of Harmony' has received criticism from the local communities itself on the credibility of MAINPP in the administration of the properties. The evidence lies in the usage of waqf lands, which are not optimised, as some of the shops are closed for long periods of time, giving a run down and desolate environment, wasting assets which are supposed to provide benefits for the Muslim community (see Figure 5.18). A representative of the gold jewellers who are also occupiers of the waqf land expressed his disappointment regarding this issue. He explained:

> The Council [religious council – MAINPP] is inefficient in the sense that, when the shop is closed, they just let it be. As long as they can get the rental fees, they are fine. We complained to MAINPP, saying that there are some shops here that are closed for three to four years. But MAINPP does not care … So, in a way, this place no longer attracts people to come.

He added, to make the matter worse, some of the waqf premises are occupied by unsuitable tenants. One of the premises was leased to a contractor, who in the end used the shop as a store. The premise is seldom used; therefore, it prevents other people from having the opportunity to use the space, which is in a prime location, with a minimum rental rate. The closure of the shop decreases the number of traditional trades operating

there, for example, the jewellery business. He believed that MAINPP is weak in administration, and does not foresee the potential of the place in terms of development and investment for the Muslim communities. The ownership of waqf land as property for the Muslims make some Muslims feel overly secure and take things for granted in terms of usage of the properties. Ownership can also be explained through property rights, for example, MAINPP as the trustee holds the authority to determine the how waqf properties are used. What MAINPP does not realise is the properties also have an intangible heritage element and if not managed well, it could affect the sense of place and value of the place.

Figure 5.18*:* Part of the waqf properties of Kapitan Keling Mosque, managed by MAINPP. The ground floor houses the jewellery shops, also once called the Gold Bazar. The second, third and fourth floors are residences for the Muslim community. Source: The Author.

The study indicates that the ‘Street of Harmony’ provides examples that demonstrate ownership, as suggested by Agnew (1987). It is also found that ownership in the ‘Street of Harmony’ goes beyond physical possession over the object. Ownership extends to administrative issues, social issues, political and economic issues. The use, ownership and property rights discussed above are in line with the ideas of Rifaioglu and Şahin Guchan (2013) on how these three parameters contribute to the sense of place. In this context of study, I found that ownership of a place where a multicultural community exists involves how people demonstrate their existence by feeling that they ‘owned’ the street; and indirectly promoted their identity.

Ownership is very rooted in the ‘Street of Harmony’, however, arguably, there appears to be different forces in terms of sense of ownership for different ethnic groups. For example, due to ethnic identity ambiguity and being one of Muslim minority communities in Malaysia, Indian Muslim feel the need to show their existence and contribution to the place, and also the need to belong. Meanwhile, the Malays being indigenous has been feeling quite comfortable with the ‘special position’ in the Federal Constitution of Malaysia, until they feel marginalised and threatened by domination of other ethnic groups in George Town due to economic development and urbanisation. Ownership helps to strengthen the relationship between tangible and intangible heritage values as it increases responsibility towards the site; people are willing to make personal sacrifices and investments in the place, and it provides power and control.

5.4.5 Stewardship

In terms of management, the George Town WHS is under the custodianship of the Department of National Heritage, Ministry of Tourism and Culture Malaysia. The day-to-day management of George Town WHS lies with GTWHI that acts as the custodian of the OUV and as the actual site manager. In addition, the MBPP is carrying out its statutory functions in protecting the OUV in close partnership with the GTWHI. One of the practices that can provide long-term stewardship is participation and empowering of local communities. The SAP has listed some strategies on how to educate and include participation from the local community in appreciating and managing the heritage. These include how the local community could manage their festivals, spaces, cultural events, etc; get greater appreciation of heritage by communities by promoting and publishing activities in the WHS; engage community associations to manage their cultural assets/properties/sites; and also educate and involve the community in mapping and defining their cultural assets.

An officer from Think City shared his experience while engaging with the local communities. He explained about the different stage of projects (design, development, and delivery process) where local communities are involved:

> For all Think City's projects, we envision it to be very inclusive and sustainable. So, it is not to cater for only one type of community … We have stakeholders' engagement and public consultation on all our projects, right from the beginning, just to get an idea of what their needs are, and what they want. Because at the end of the day, they are the ones who live there, so, we took into consideration their comments and feedback into our design.

Meanwhile, another aspect to consider is the need to have realistic and proper project planning and management, because the site is in an urban area, and there are communities living around it. He added:

> In every project, we learnt different things; we learnt something new. For the Cannon Street back lanes project, we learnt many things especially in the implementation of the project. We realised that right from the beginning, we have to have a proper plan, in terms of the whole construction period. We need to take into account all the underground utilities, and who is going to be affected by it. You [have to] get in touch with the utility company, right at the beginning.

Figure 5.19 below provide photographs of improvement programmes in the back lanes – the project plans and work in progress.

Figure 5.19: The back lanes improvement programmes, which engage the local communities to participate in the project.
Source: The Author.

He then explained how engagement with the local communities has made them become closer and increases the responsibilities of the local residents to take care of their heritage more than before:

> They applied for grants, and we provided them grants to do it … Previously, we have worked with Kapitan Keling Mosque, and they always come to us if there is any issue … So, they actually came up to ask if we can help them in the repair works. If it is really urgent, we will consider the urgent repair works, and then submit to Technical Review Panel [of MBPP].

Another officer from Think City believed that community involvement for the projects brings shared benefit to local communities and the company itself, and the community will appreciate the space even more than before. An academic who is also a building conservator suggested the participation of local communities goes up to the decision-making process, and making sure that bureaucracy is minimised. He stated:

> We do not want to see many aristocratic styles [processes of management]. I think the key to any successful venture is, a good bond, [and] good strategy with the local communities … Of course, there will be a lot of debates, a lot of disagreements, but they need to find solution to resolve all the issues.

One more important watchdog for heritage conservation in Penang is the George Town Heritage Action (GTHA). Led by two co-founders, the group is seen by the authorised groups such as MBPP as disturbing and intrusive. The representative of GTHA explained why he is interested in the well-being of the site:

> You can be a tourist and write to UNESCO, because it [World Heritage Site] belongs to the world. People are criticising me, 'you are not Malaysian, why don't you shut up'. You have to understand the site's background, if it is not UNESCO [designated site], okay, I am shutting my mouth, I have no right to say [anything].

However, there is a serious concern about the stewardship's concepts for the site, as several interviewees believed that the vision of the site is very much focused on tourism. A tourist guide and heritage activist pointed out her view:

> Nobody is doing the managing, nobody is looking at the World Heritage Site, how to manage it properly, nobody is looking towards sustainable tourism, and how to apply sustainable tourism. Nobody. It is all about increasing the numbers of tourists to fulfil their KPI [Key Performance Index] that is so important [to them]. All they want is more tourists but they forgot about the locals. Without the locals, there is no cultural heritage … It is not because there are no expert or policy. The state government – what do they really want? [How about] the city's vision?

When the stewardship of the site involves many partners, including the local communities, many benefits can be achieved in terms of management. For the local council, the burden on how heritage assets will be funded and implemented are facilitated by Think City. The grant provided by Think City under GTGP aimed for small community-led programmes. A representative from the Heritage Department of MBPP stated:

> We are working very closely with Think City. They helped us to do many projects … For example, lately Masjid Acheh [Acheen Street Malay Mosque] is having leaking issues. So, Think City walked in and helped them. Then they just submit [application to do repair works] to us.

For Think City, their involvement is more to assure the local council that the project is possible to be implemented, and could be a pilot project for the entire city. An officer from Think City stated that:

> We only do pilot project. I do not think we would be able to do it for the entire city. We just want to show to the [local] council that, you should do this. It would be nice to have this [pedestrian path] harmonised throughout the city. We cannot do the local council's job, because we would like the local council themselves to take the role, in doing it, harmonising the streetscape. There are so many players in the council … and each come and go in different timings, and implement different things.

By engaging the local community in the project, it can provide an opportunity for the local communities to meet with one another, and help to create a sense of pride in place, ownership and identity. The data reflects what is known in the literature, and relates to the idea of Chapin & Knapp (2015) who state that sense of place can be used as a motivation for long-term stewardship. I agree with Brown and Hay-Edie (2012: 52) on the idea of having effective stewardship of WH sites by concentrating on two components, namely management and governance. However, the management of the site need a confident and positive vision, especially when the site is getting a large

amount of pressure from mass tourism and urbanisation. George Town too need to improve its governance especially in implementing policies and rules on decision-making.

5.5 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed two major themes and set out to understand the relationship between George Town WHS and its local communities. The first theme is associated with the construction of space and place. Concerns were expressed on how people defined the 'Street of Harmony' based on its activities, scales and location, as well as the making of place through practices and embodiments. In the context of a WHS, the international community is concentrating more on the tangible heritage compared to the intangible heritage. However, people are marking out their territory, the scale of the place and its location more by virtue of the intangibles. WH relates to levels and scales, however, when the study goes down to the site level, on the ground it is just like a normal street. The more meaningful elements for the local communities are the intangible heritage. The findings enhance understanding of how people make space through practices and embodiment of the site, in this case referring to its multicultural and postcolonial context. This study has raised an important criticism put forward by people in relation to the WH status, in that WH by definition concentrates on the tangible aspects, but in actuality, many tangible spaces provide only performance space for the intangibles.

The second theme discussed is the sense of place. The findings revealed that the relationship between tangible heritage and intangible heritage values can be

demonstrated through the sense of place, which can be explained by the way the local communities involved are attached, belong, own, and hold stewardship over the place. While the intangible and tangible heritage holds together tightly, the study confirms that the intangible elements are those that make more attachments with the place as compared to the tangible (Harison and Rose, 2010). While not denying the importance of the tangible heritage, for example the places of worship, it is the narratives, rituals, practices and memories that make the 'Street of Harmony' have a strong sense of place. As a dynamic site, the way local communities deal with changes varies, which is in agreement with McClinchey's (2016: 8) findings which showed sense of place of multicultural communities is 'individual, personal, intimate, simple yet extremely complex'. Although many interviewees responded that they are proud to become part of the communities in George Town WHS, actually the WH concept contributes little relevance to their day-to-day lives. The majority of the interviewees relate themselves to the site not based on the WH status and its grand narratives, but the value of 'Street of Harmony' as embedded as part of their life.

The greater the sense of place, the more the place will be taken care of by the stakeholders. The opinions and involvement of the local communities are important as they provide a deeper understanding of the site, especially on its intangible features. Therefore, from the above discursive perspectives, an integrated approach to safeguarding the sense of place may consider the unique effects and functions of the physical and psychological process, social, symbolic and experiential qualities, appreciations of space and place, and the emotional significance of a heritage site, through community engagement.

The next chapter will discuss two other themes: the representation of identity, and framing of the ‘Street of Harmony’. Chapter 6 discusses how the ‘Street of Harmony’ is considered as a thirdspace, which relates to the history of colonialism and also multiculturalism. It will also demonstrate the way space and place are being negotiated, appropriated and represented. The final emerging theme is the framing and the exercise of power. The representation and the forms of power will be discussed and how it is being mediated, which could affect the decisions people make about place.

CHAPTER 6

REPRESENTATION OF PLACE IDENTITY AND FRAMING

6.0 Introduction

In the first part of this chapter, the next theme: representation of identity based on the street's multicultural and postcolonial context will be discussed. Attention also is focused on understanding the local community's perceptions of the postcolonial heritage, from their different viewpoints – of what recollections are to be retained or dismissed from their memories. Then discussion centres on how the 'Street of Harmony' operates as a thirdspace (Bhabha, 1994b), which is very much related to the history of the place, and also multiculturalism as one of the products of colonialism. Reflecting on thirdspace as a 'space that we will find those words with which we can speak of Ourselves and Others' (Bhabha, 1994b: 157), and its potential location to explain the hybridity of place and the relationship between the colonised and the coloniser, I view the 'Street of Harmony' as a thirdspace. It involves the discussion of the street as a 'space of cultural hybridity', a 'space of domination and contestation', a 'space of tolerance and respect', and a 'space of conflicting values'. Following this, attention will focus on how the identity of the place is being represented using narratives and languages. Previous research states that control over language, text and representation are the main components used by the colonisers to control people and the colonised lands (Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin, 1989). The discussion endeavours to show how place identities are first, constructed and, secondly, represented.

The final theme which emerged from the study concerns framing (Dovey, 1999) and the exercise of power. This section will reveal the representation as well as the forms of power and how they are being mediated, which could affect the decisions people make in the place. This chapter will also continue to discuss the relationships between the World Heritage designation of George Town and its local communities.

6.1 Representation of Postcolonial Identity

The end of the period of colonialism has transformed the manner in which the local communities at the 'Street of Harmony' construct their identity. The representation of the postcolonial identity in the street relates to the history of the place, deals with identity formation and partly with the struggle over identity formation. The 'Street of Harmony' overcomes the problem of postcolonial identity formation by appropriating and transforming the process into the making of culturally appropriate representations (Ashcroft, 2001).

6.1.1 Dealing with colonial heritage

Dealing with the colonial heritage gives rise to mixed feelings in the interviewees on whether to accept and remember or to ignore the connection with their colonial pasts. Britain used several strategies to express their power as the coloniser, which is first manifested by establishing a garrison town, and then by applying a town planning system and architectural design (Demissie, 2012). According to Nasution (2014), Penang was once a place where soldiers from the Bengal regiments prepared for the Anglo-Burmese wars of the mid 19th century. Many interviewees can live with the notion that what has been left by the colonial power is part of the nation's history. The

colonial power has left its traces through the built form – town planning, architecture and also grants of land to build places of worship for each major religious group. English is widely used until today at the 'Street of Harmony', from wayfinding, the street name (see Figure 6.1), signboards, in the pamphlets, as well as a language used by tour guides and the people who use the street in general.

Figure 6.1: The use of English in the old signage of the street, Cannon Street and the latest one in Bahasa Malaysia, Lebuh Cannon.
Source: The Author.

From my observations, one of the buildings that portrays the image of British colonialism in the 'Street of Harmony' in terms of its façade is the Star Pitt Street building. Constructed in 1906, the building is located in-between a row of two-storey shophouses, with an initial purpose to house the Opium and Spirit Farm Offices. Opium was a big business back in the colonial period, with the Chinese dominating the trade all over Penang (Loh, 2014). Currently the building houses a bookshop and a permanent exhibition entitled the Penang Story – a history of Penang – on the ground floor; a resource centre, an office for the technical team of Think City, as well as an exhibition space on the first; and the Penang Philharmonic Orchestra Hall on the top floor. However, very few interviewees mentioned this building, even though visually the scale

of the building is bigger than most buildings around the area. This also applies for other colonial buildings at the 'Street of Harmony', where nobody mentioned the architectural style of the housing in front of the Kapitan Keling Mosque and very few talked about the St George's Church. The attitude of the people denies the statement on colonial architecture as an image of the 'fantasy, grandeur and arrogance' of the colonial power (Demissie, 2012: 1). Therefore, in reality, the built colonial heritage at the site is a neglected history and is almost being forgotten by the local communities.

After Malaysia's independence in 1957, there have been movements towards developing a nation state for which a national identity representing the idea of being 'Malaysian' is needed. This is evident in the 'Street of Harmony' too, and in line with the ideas on how the attitude of the colonised society tends to change over time (Marschall, 2008). A heritage advocate who grew up in George Town talked about the way colonialism has left a feeling of gratefulness among the community, which has created energy and provided opportunities for the people in early Penang to live in a free-trading port. Some of the interviewees acknowledged the contribution of the British colony, bringing in the Chinese and the Indian migrants to Penang, who have eventually become part of the present diversity of the ethnic groups in Malaysia.

On the other hand, there are also interviewees who do not like the place to be associated with the colonial power, as they think the British have taken advantage of the country's resources for their own benefit. One of the Indian Muslim community leaders said that 'there is no need to remember the past about colonialism, [you] can just read it in history books' and that there was a need to 'glorify our own culture, not the colonisers'.

A senior Malay local resident stated that ‘I love to communicate in English, to show to the “white man” that Malays are not idiots’. These are examples of how the colonial past is seen as dark by some of the locals. However, these examples can also be translated as the way the interviewees expressed their pride over their own culture and heritage. From my observations, in general, Penangites are very proud of their heritage, take ownership over their space, and have a sense of belonging which influence the way they view colonialism.

I referred to several tourism promotion materials about the ‘Street of Harmony’ and the following statements provide examples of how colonialism is portrayed: ‘Once a British trading post and settlement…’, ‘Named after Britain’s King George III, George Town is a cultural melting pot that bears rich influence from both its former British ties and the influx of immigrants from around the region….’ (George Town World Heritage Incorporated, 2014), ‘The Penang you see today is a physical evidence of how the outpost grew to accommodate its growing, diverse ethnic population, as well as its role and importance as a colony of the British Empire’ (Emi and Motoko, 2016). This suggests that British colonialism has been presented to the tourist more in terms of its contribution in the opening of Penang as a trading post, and the effect of colonialism – the multidiverse communities.

6.1.2 The ‘Street of Harmony’ as a thirdspace

Further to the discussion above, the concept of thirdspace is used to denote the space where the colonised and the coloniser coexist (Bhabha, 1994b). By reading the ‘Street of Harmony’ as a thirdspace, the active postcolonial city space is re-examined through

embodied and everyday practices. The concept of thirdspace is also significant to clarify the complexity of space, with its rich framework – the way everyday life is presented in a very diverse form will be discussed, especially with an emphasis on how the site is being communicated, negotiated and translated by the local communities.

6.1.2.1 Space of cultural hybridity

> 'There is not, probably, any part of the world where, in so small a space, so many different people are assembled together, or so great a variety of languages spoken'. (Leith, 1804: 25)

The above statement was made by Lieutenant Governor Sir George Leith to describe the multicultural diversity of Penang. Present-day Penang is known as a place where multiculturalism is accepted and practised, as its colonial trade attracted people from various places such as India, China, and the northern region of Sumatra, among others. George Town became a meeting place for people with different backgrounds, religions, cultures, languages and ethnicities, and this creates diversity. The communities mixed with each other, intermarried and the diversity grows. Interview with a heritage advocate unfold the story of diversity of Penang – it is related to Francis Light himself, as he co-habited with a woman named Martina Rozells, who held a different religious faith. During that period, people from different churches were not allowed to marry each other, and he was from the Church of England (Anglican), while she was a Catholic. The couple resided in George Town until the end of their lives. The heritage advocate continued to describe the diversity of Penang as 'a story of migrants, a story of refugees, a story of global commerce, a story of the ships, and a story of the convicts'. These words show his reflections on the complex experiences of the people who came to George Town during its years of early establishment. Different people from different

backgrounds struggled to establish a sense of self at a new place away from home. The 'Street of Harmony' became an expression of their journey towards finding their identity, in this case, by attaching themselves to the places of worship which have been constructed as meeting places, religious places, and community places, among others.

As a space of cultural hybridity, the 'Street of Harmony' relates to the past, the memory, the history, and the differences caused by multiculturalism, particularly in culture and identity. Hybridity is a term used to explain the new identity that has emerged from the interweaving of elements of the colonised and the colonisers (Bhabha, 1994b). Francis Light allocated the land at Pitt Street to house the places of worship for every religious group. People settled around the places of worship based on their ethnic groups, even though there was no formal segregation among them. Previously Indian Muslims, Europeans, Chinese, Indian Hindus, Malays, Achehnese, Bugis and Armenian communities lived around the site. The migrant settlers were attracted to the free trade policy introduced by the British – coexisted in a world of shifting political, economical, social, and cultural conditions. At present, the residents around the 'Street of Harmony' comprised of a majority of Indian Muslims, together with Chinese and Malay communities. A heritage advocate shared his views on how diversity and multiculturalism are celebrated in George Town:

> Unlike so many places, Penang diversity continues – continues because it has a good core for each of them … For example, thanks to the religious institutions, thanks to also the idea of community land – waqf. The whole story of waqf has kept the Muslim Malay identity in this whole area. So, if not for religious institutions and community at [the] different places, the character might have changed, but the form remained. Before, it was Pitt Street [the original name of the street], everybody was there… The sounds of the place – sounds of the businesses that take place, sounds of the different calls for religious institutions whether it was barrels, the joss sticks, the Hindu temples, all sorts of other major civilisations, and their connections with Penang.

Mimicry is a consequence of hybridity. Mimicry is also one way to express colonial influence and power to the colonised. At the 'Street of Harmony', mimicry is not just the result of strategy of the colonials to make the colonisers look like them, but it also happens when the settlers mimic the culture from their home country. Some of the buildings in the 'Street of Harmony' echo influences from the place of origin of the respective communities, such as from India, China, and Acheh. This is in line with Bhabha's (1994b: 86) idea that colonial mimicry is 'the desire for a reformed, recognisable Other, as a subject of difference that is almost the same, but not quite'. Regarding this issue, a cultural activist explained during an interview:

> You have two very interesting mosques, one [Acheen Street Malay Mosque] which is historically grounded in the Malay community from northern Sumatra, in other words, Acheh … If you go to northern Acheh, you will see minarets very similar to this [mosque]… [Located] 150 metres away [from the Acheen Street Malay Mosque] is the oldest and best endowed historic mosques – an Indian Muslim mosque. A mosque that has its roots in terms of the ancestral communities and the language sometimes used for worship in the historic Muslim community of Tamil Nadu.

He then elaborated further on the architectural influence of the places of worship:

> For the Hindu temple, the whole iconography and structural layers are very much the style of Tamil Nadu Hindu architecture. The Kuan Yin Temple is very much based on Southern Chinese ancestral homes – [using] feng shui and also the architectural motives, forms and carving… The St George's Church used neoclassical [architectural] style that you can find echoes in English churches [around] the 1810s and 1820s. The places of worship are obviously also public places for respective communities, and architectural spaces themselves reflect an adaptation.

Due to its hybridity, the identity of place in the 'Street of Harmony' gives the impression that one is experiencing multiple places at the same time, between George Town and Southern China for example. This is in line with Massey's (1991) idea that a place has multiple identities and is encountered with internal conflicts. To the cultural

activist interviewee, the architecture of the Kapitan Keling Mosque is not a mimicry of the Tamil Nadu style. He stated:

> It is actually a British fantasy in its modern incarnation when it was renovated [around] hundred years ago… The British were using Moghul [architecture], which is the Northern Indian [architecture]… like you see at the Taj Mahal.

The design of Kapitan Keling Mosque in other words mimicked the architecture of the British India empire during the Moghul period (16th to 19th century), and this is considered as one way to show the superiority of colonial power. Another important building typology that represents the hybridity of culture in George Town is the shophouse. The building combines the vernacular, Chinese and European features as well as influences, as a response to the availability of building construction materials, climatic factors, and the skills of the workers.

6.1.2.2 Spaces of tolerance and respect

The representation of identity at the 'Street of Harmony' also demonstrates respect and the tolerant attitude of the multicultural communities. For many generations, the 'Street of Harmony' has witnessed the richness of culture and religions of the respective communities of George Town. As I explore, it was this set of manners – tolerance and respect – that has constituted the habitus of the people for over 200 years. This resonates with Bordieu's (1990) idea of habitus, on how people produce the same practices over the existing social structures. A cultural and heritage activist described during interview how the unspoken understanding has long been practised at the site, and this includes religious sensitivity:

> At this street, there is a Hindu [Sri Mahamariamman] temple. There is also a nasi kandar shop [selling steamed rice with curry and vegetable dishes] which is [owned by] an Indian Muslim, but you do not see them selling beef [as Hindus do not eat beef and the cow is considered as a sacred animal]. Other nasi kandar shops are selling beef, except for this row. It has been like that, and if you asked them since when [have they practised it], they could not tell you because since their grandfather's time, it was already practised.

The communities live in their zones comfortably, tolerating and being respectful of each other. However, without initiation from a third party, the communities are very self-contained, rarely interact but aware of each other's existence, and have little understanding of the meaning behind each other's religions and beliefs. To promote intercultural religious understanding within the city, the Penang Global Ethics Project was launched in 2006, an initiative that has become part of the contributions to the concept of the 'World Religions – Universal Peace – Global Ethics', with Jalan Masjid Kapitan Keling as its pilot project. One of the programmes of this project was the 'World Religion Walk' that represents and promotes the street as a 'Street of Harmony' – a place where people could learn about the existence of other religions and cultures, with people of different ethnicities and backgrounds living in harmony with one another.

The former President of India, Dr APJ Abdul Kalam, who toured the street in August 2008 (see Figure 6.2), wrote a poem on the 'Street of Harmony' as a place for everyone. He wrote about peace, pride, harmony, unity, diversity of the people, hope and also about the religious buildings. In the last paragraph of the poem, he interpreted the street as a place of spiritual significance:

When I completed my pilgrimage
The streets of Harmony of Penang.
Presented an integrated spiritual centre
With message to the Universe.
Every human being will give and give
The best of human societies will be born.

Source: Excerpts from the poem in the booklet of Dr APJ Kalam's Visit to the Street of Harmony – UNESCO World Heritage Site George Town, Penang, Malaysia 30 August 2008 (Think City Sdn. Bhd., 2013).

Figure 6.2: Former President of India, Dr APJ Abdul Kalam's visit to the 'Street of Harmony' was seen as an acknowledgement of the identity of the street as a symbol of religious and cultural diversity.
Source: Booklet of Dr APJ Kalam's Visit to the Street of Harmony – UNESCO World Heritage Site George Town, Penang, Malaysia 30 August 2008 (Think City Sdn. Bhd., 2013).

Ten years after the 'World Religion Walk' there are still guided walks promoting religious coexistence and cultural exchange held in the 'Street of Harmony' from time to time (see Figure 6.3). The walk also glorifies the history of the Acheen Street Malay Mosque as the centre of Quranic studies, the earliest Muslim urban community in Penang, and its role as a transit point for Muslim hajj pilgrimage. It also serves as a reminder of how the colonial power has invited traders, bringing in people from

different parts of the world to Penang; and promoted religious freedom right from the beginning, a precursor to a right that is now secured in the Federal Constitution of Malaysia.

Figure 6.3: One of the religious walks at the 'Street of Harmony' included the Prince of Wales' visit in 2017. The visit was part of the official visit to commemorate the 60th anniversary of bilateral relations between Malaysia and Britain.
Source: Bernama (2017).

The 'Journey of Harmony' project, which took off in 2014, was a collaboration between Think City, the Arts-ED, as well as the local communities who live and interact with the site. The project aimed at finding common values in all the main religious practices that exist there. Based on a series of interviews, discussions and meetings, the project team decided to frame the narratives by using four shared natural elements: light, moon, flora, and water to present the Malay, Indian Muslim, Hindu, Christian and Chinese community – St George's Church, the Kuan Yin Temple, the Sri Mahamariamman Temple, Kapitan Keling Mosque and Acheen Street Malay Mosque. Even though other places of worship, for example the Church of Assumption which is located at Farquhar

Street, have expressed their interest in participating, the team has decided to frame the project to only five major places of worship. This shows that when one deals with the hybridity of a place, there is always an issue of inclusion and exclusion of heritage and identity to be represented.

A cultural and heritage activist during an interview shared her experience in getting information from all five representatives of the places of worship within the two-year process of completing the project. According to her, it was difficult to find common traits between certain places of worship, for example the Hindu temple and the church. The team had to work with the utmost care, as they were dealing with religious sensitivities and differences in cultural values of the communities. They conducted focus group discussions with each community separately. The pamphlets (see Figure 6.4) were then produced in English and Malay languages, aimed at facilitating the people to carry out self-discovery walking tours of the site. The project has provided additional value in understanding both the tangible and intangible heritage values of the site, without concentrating too much on the historical aspects, which can be found easily through the website. The quote, from the pamphlet: 'The lamps are different, but the Light is the same: it comes from Beyond' (quoted from Rumi, a medieval poet and Islamic theologian) attempted to situate the 'Street of Harmony' as an embodiment of the diversity of Penang, which has existed for over 200 years, and still does to this day.

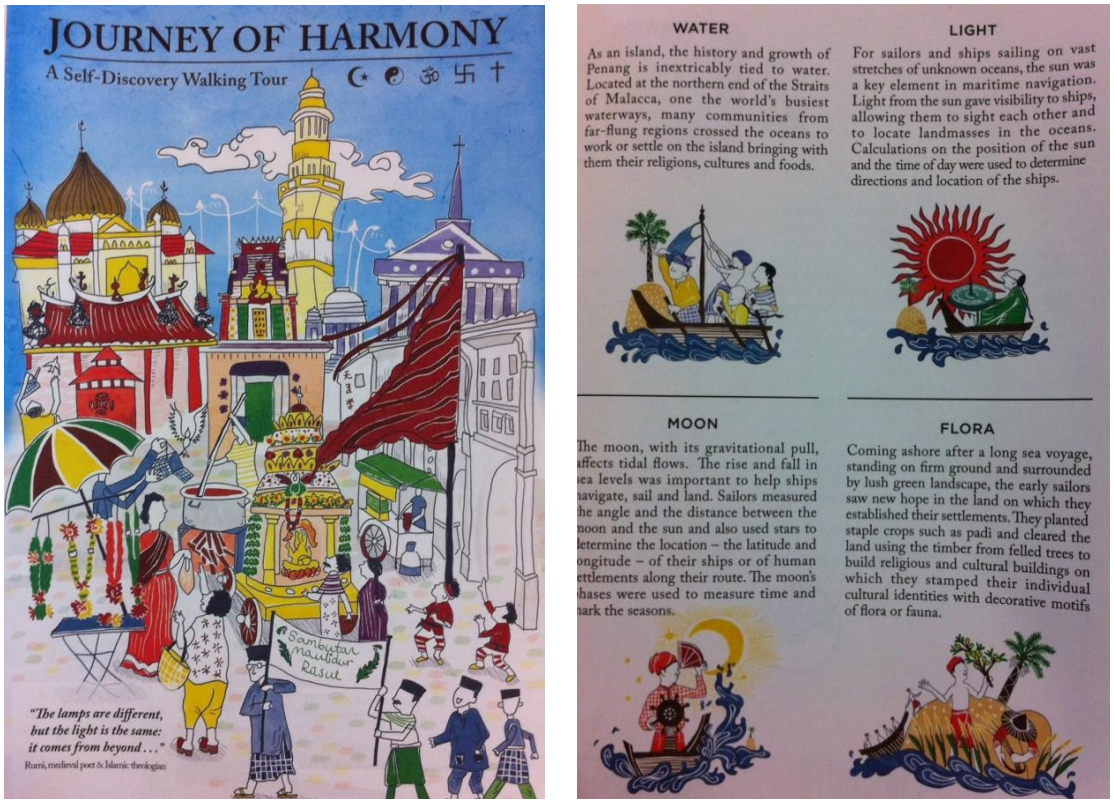

Figure 6.4: The pamphlet of the 'Journey of Harmony' showing the shared elements representing the street as being harmonious, multireligious and multicultural.
Source: Journey of Harmony- A Self Discovery Walking Tour pamphlet (Arts-ED and Think City Sdn. Bhd., 2015).

Some interviewees strongly identified the 'Street of Harmony' as a place to learn about tolerance, respect and harmony, and triggering feelings of a shared cultural heritage, which would constitute as being part of the 'imagined community'(Anderson, 1983), while some others rejected the idea. One interviewee believed that the idea of harmony is not meaningful, as it was just a concept introduced by the previous political party that governed the state. Another interviewee asserted that the word harmony means nothing, as there are not many residents in the area at present. The 'Street of Harmony' as a thirdspace frames the spatial experience that unfolds between the conceptual and actual lived experience (Soja, 1996).

The ‘Street of Harmony’ has address tolerance, respect and diversity, by allowing different individuals and groups to be themselves. Even though access to certain places for example places of worship are restricted to only a certain group of people, the public spaces in the ‘Street of Harmony’ have become places to bring people together. A cultural and heritage activist explained the use of a junction between Armenian Street, Cannon Street, and Pitt Street in the 1960s as a playground that brought children of different ethnic groups and backgrounds to play together. She explained:

> This is a popular space for the inner city kids. All the streets were very narrow; you can imagine living in this place, although we did not grow up here. It [is an] urban setting… So, this is [considered] a big field for them to [play] hide and seek – at this square. In the early 1960s, this was an old residential [area]… This place is called ‘ya kar’, [which] means under the coconut tree. Imagine there were a lot of coconut trees here, the place was very shady and a lot of hawkers came in here in the afternoon. It was a very communal space.

As the place grows, it undergoes many changes. These include a huge reduction of the number of residents living in the area, an increase in tourism activities, as well as an improved infrastructure. Today, as can be seen in Figure 6.5, the same junction is a place where trishaw pedlars wait for their passengers, a place where worshippers at the nearby Yap Temple perform their prayer activities, and a place where one can have coconut water, among other things. Apart from being a space of tolerance and respect, the ‘Street of Harmony’ is also a place that encourages sociability among the community members.

Figure 6.5: The junction between Armenian Street, Cannon Street, and Kapitan Keling Mosque Street, which was once a playground for children in the inner city of George Town.
Source: The Author.

6.1.2.3 Spaces of domination and contestation

Under the colonial British 'divide and rule' policy, different communities were free to manage their religious, economic and cultural activities, and build their settlements around the area. The Chinese occupied China Street, Indians (majority of them were Muslims) at Chulia Street, Europeans at Light Street, and Malays and Achehnese at Malay town. This is in line with the idea of Hassan (2009), where during the colonial period, the streets functioned as boundaries to avoid ethnic conflicts among the communities residing in George Town.

The domination of space in the present-day 'Street of Harmony' happened as a result of economic conditions, and in promoting a group's own identity. Domination of space due to economic reasons is common in a place within an urban context such as George Town. In 1966, the Rent Control Act was the means to regulate the tenancies in pre-

World War II buildings, (buildings built before January 1948) and owners were restricted from raising rents for the tenants. However, the act was abolished in 2001, making the rents soar. Property prices have continued to rise, particularly after the site was listed as a WHS in 2008, as the owners saw the status as an opportunity to gain better returns from their properties. This has raised concerns over how the place changes in a world of shifting economic conditions, as voiced by a cultural activist during interview:

> Suddenly properties became prime assets. They [the shophouse owners] have gone from being long-standing relatively poor working class tenants to now property owners wanting to cash in on what they saw as the boom! …It is not based on the real economy. It is based a lot on speculation, sad to say.

Competition in domination of space at the 'Street of Harmony' happens between the Malay, Indian Muslim, and the Chinese communities. A Malay jeweller gave an example of how the strong kinship of the Chinese provides them with more opportunities to dominate the space. He stated:

> The Chinese are very strong with their clans and associations. They can form any association, you see, they have the money. They can form an association for owners of coffee shops; they can get agreement from all [shop] owners if they want to increase the price of a cup of coffee. We [the Malays] cannot find such agreement; when one Malay sells a cup of coffee for one Malaysian Ringgit, the other Malays will sell a cup of coffee for 80 cents. We are competing with each other, not agreeing and cooperating to support Malay business.

Although the Chinese are divided according to different Kongsi (associations) or clans, they work together when pursuing a common interest. They formed welfare associations with their own social structure to take care of their community. Each clan set up their temple with an ancestral hall for public space and worship, and an association to manage their business as well as community ties. This has created cohesive bonds and partnerships among them.

Unlike the Malays, both Indians and Chinese migrants were brought into Penang by the British in massive numbers to work in tin mining, construction, trade and the plantation industry. Over the years, the Chinese have been dominating the economy in Malaysia as compared to the 'sons of soil' – the Malay. A Malay jeweller voiced out his insecurities on the possibilities that other ethnic groups will dominate the place if they are allowed to and are given the opportunities. He explained:

> The government has to play their part in this issue. They have to find ways to help us because this is for the Muslims' [survival]. If not, all these trades will disappear and will be taken over by the Chinese. Now we see the Chinese [domination], after this, we will see the Indians [Hindu]. Previously they [the Indian Hindu] are not here, now if you walk in the Market Street, you will see that many of them have monopolised the area [which previously was an Indian Muslim area]. Their community leaders helped them; they provide the buildings.

Historically, domination of space has already happened in the past, when the kongsis and clans bought properties, for example the shophouses, for their community. The waqf land is one way of securing, protecting and taking care of the welfare of the Muslim community members at the centre of the George Town WHS. The administration and ownership of waqf land, however, has been a sensitive issue that involves the political interference and economic interest of many people. The ownership of properties among the different ethnic groups has provided them with a sense of security for survival in the challenging urban context.

The conflicts that take place in the 'Street of Harmony' are largely confined to specific 'fields' as the 'actors' compete for dominance (Bourdieu, 1990). Social and cultural capital, particularly ethnicity, is an important tool to explain the domination of space. In Bourdieu's terms, the cultural capital includes all the tangible and intangible heritage elements in the 'Street of Harmony'. Even among the Muslims, there is an issue on

whether a person is a Malay Muslim or an Indian Muslim; and among the Indians, there is an issue on whether a person is an Indian Hindu or an Indian Muslim. One jeweller told how he is always negotiating with the issue of inclusion and exclusion – when he is talking about his identity as a half Indian (from his paternal side), or a half Malay (from his maternal side). The identity labels offer other ways to construct identities (Bhabha, 1994b) and that identity involves dialogues with self and others (Bakhtin, 1981).

An old resident of the Acheen Street Malay Mosque waqf land expressed his concerns about the dominance of the Indian Muslim community, which to him is a threat to the Malays. He felt that the Indian Muslims' businesses and attitudes are the reason why the Malays become sidelined in Penang. Meanwhile, one jeweller opined that for the Malay community to dominate the place, they needed to be seen as strong and active in the area. He said:

> We have to build up the Muslim's image, in the sense that we need to organise a lot of religious talks, and other religious activities. Bring back the people, the Malays from the villages must come out and participate in these events. If not, in the future, we will see that there will be more Chinese in George Town.

Another form of domination is through visual experience. Some buildings and activities at the street catch more attention than others, creating power and control over the space. At the 'Street of Harmony', to many interviewees, the Kapitan Keling Mosque, the Kuan Yin Temple as well as the street arts are the most identifiable features. Situated at a strategic location, in a big open space with beautiful architecture and facing the main road, the mosque receives many guests, and becomes a major landmark of the street. The Kuan Yin Temple, on the other hand, is always full of people who come to worship, tourists who would like to experience the culture and practices, and even

people lining up for free food. Being the most communal place of all, the temple also provides the richest sensory experience – from the smell of joss sticks to visual attractions in its colourful roof ornamentations, and in the activity of releasing caged birds to gain merit in the afterlife, among others. The street arts too have great impact on the street, as they receive a lot of attention from the visitors, transforming the quiet Cannon Street to a place busting with activities as people move in, out and about to take photos and enjoy the street arts and cafes at the nearby Armenian Street and Acheh Street. Therefore, the 'Street of Harmony' is a site in which an individual or a group try to establish a monopoly, power and domination over various forms of capital, for example, economic and historical, which are affective to them.

6.1.2.4 Space of performances

The 'Street of Harmony' serves as a unique space of performance and resistance through the everyday life of the people, which includes routines, and involves various activities and actions by the countless users of the street. There are a number of different locations for performance spaces in the 'Street of Harmony'. First, at the street itself, which is a partly paved and partly bitumen finished road. The types of performance include the Chingay parade, the procession of the Sri Varasithi Vinayagar Shrine, and the protest towards the treatment received by the Rohingya Muslims in Myanmar. Performers display their talents at various locations along the street, and stop at certain intervals depending on where others have set up and on the important locations, for example at the junction of the street and the shrine. The street has a very high flow of people during the street performances, attracting audiences from different ethnicities and backgrounds. This is not only true for the audience, but also for the performers

themselves. Taking the Chingay parade for example, though it is of a Chinese origin, the participants comprise Indians and the Malays as well – dancing, marching, and holding tall bamboo poles. The street becomes a performance stage, providing opportunities for interaction between the crowd and performers.

I managed to observe the rituals and chariot processions at the Sri Varasithi Vinayagar Shrine, a shrine dedicated to the elephant-headed god – Ganesha (see Figure 6.6). The event was accessible to everyone; there is no restriction of age, ethnicity, gender, religion, age, and nationality. A banner was placed at Jalan Masjid Kapitan Keling to inform the public of the police approval obtained for the event. The decorated and colourful chariot arrived at the Sri Varasithi Vinayagar Shrine at 6.30 pm. Soon after the call for the Muslim prayer 'Maghrib' (dusk or after sunset prayer) from the Kapitan Keling Mosque ended, and the celebration began. Musicians played traditional instruments with a fast beat alongside the procession, which has taken place on the street directly in front of the shrine. The loud music then stopped to give way for the call for 'Isyak' (night-time prayer) from the Kapitan Keling Mosque. The celebration resumed right after the call for prayers ended. Special prayers were recited by the Hindu priest, who used the space in front of the shrine, surrounded by hundreds of worshippers and visitors.

Figure 6.6: The rituals and chariot processions at the Sri Varasithi Vinayagar shrine which added to the colourfulness of the street. Space become multifunctional and performers defined their own territories.
Source: The Author

Rela (The People's Volunteer Corps) officers helped control the traffic, making sure that the flow was smooth. They also controlled the crowd, asking them to step back, to clear the road. The crowd spilled onto the street, which was temporarily half pedestrianised or fully pedestrianised at certain sections, as they gathered around the temple to have a relatively better view on the rituals, while some performed prayers too. At the other side of the road, two cows with their neck tied with a rope and decorated with yellow

flowers on their heads, were placed at the five-foot way of empty shophouses. Three Indian men monitored the cows while waiting for particular rituals to be completed. The cows were then brought to cross the street, and were prepared to pull the chariot. The chariot was then pulled towards Lebuh Farquhar.

The changes in the way spaces are used can, in fact, be planned for in various ways by the performers. While this is necessary due to the lack of formalism in terms of the organisation of space, this can also be necessary given the need for the performers to have a certain amount of space to perform in, and also so that they do not inadvertently entirely block the spaces in which they perform. This organisation is as simple as asking people to step back or forward. The crowd during the procession at the Sri Varasithi Vinayagar Shrine for example, were asked to step back when they became too near to the ritual space, as they were encroaching the space between the priest, worshippers and the shrine. This event echoes de Certeau's (1984) discussion of everyday tactics, on how space is transformed by walkers. The movement of performers has appropriated the space by using tactics – adjusting the movement of their body to allow space for the worshippers to perform rituals.

For the celebration of Kuan Yin's birthday, an opera stage was set up at the forecourt of the Kuan Yin Temple (see Figure 6.7). The stage was facing the temple and even though at times not many people were watching the opera and the singing, people knew where to locate themselves and enjoy the show. During the celebration, worshippers still came to the temple to perform their rituals, both inside and outside the building.

The performances of everyday life, for example, the daily rituals at the Kuan Yin Temple have always been an intrinsic part of the experience of built space.

Figure 6.7: Performance stage set up for Kuan Yin's birthday celebration in front of the temple.
Source: The Author

6.1.2.5 Spaces of conflicting values – real and imagined

The 'Street of Harmony' also deals with conflicting values, being part of the WHS. The universal values were set by UNESCO, but the local values are as important, as the local communities are directly connected to the site. The street is a multicultural place, and the inclusion of all values of the communities is essential as it enhance the way they are connected to the place and impact the decision-making process pertaining to the future of the place. A former resident of Jalan Masjid Kapitan Keling, who lived there for more than 40 years described the place as simply ordinary as it is part of his daily life:

> Growing [up] there, it was never distinguished as such [as the 'Street of Harmony'], although we live [together] – people of different culture utilises the different spaces, from the shophouse, mosque or temples. There are different users that utilised the space, and obviously the nature of space has changed or at least from my memory over the last four decades, has changed significantly. Small trades, small shops, funeral processions … cultural events, celebrations or performances, the marking of different festivals, of different communities were visible and could be seen. It was something that all people embedded as part of their everyday living.

This statement indicates at the local level, there is a different value expressed by the locals. Understanding local values means consulting the local communities who are the primary source of information about the site. Having said that, the 'Street of Harmony' as a thirdspace, allows for the existence of differences in values and cultural conditions to be properly understood.

6.2 Framing of the 'Street of Harmony'

Examination of the final theme focuses on how space and place are being framed, in order to further understand the relationship between the WH city and its local communities. The 'Street of Harmony' is being framed in different degrees, from as broad as the policy framing, guidelines and regulations that need to be followed as part of the WHS, to as detailed as how the daily activities are framed by the four walls of a place, as humble as a home. The frames are based on the different motivations, interests, and preferences of the authorising group of people. The frames identified are policy (heritage and conservation, and education policy), community, tourism, religion, heritage, and institution, which also give impact on the relationship between the tangible and the intangible heritage values. The frames become a mechanism for control of power by the authorised group – one way of programming the actions of users on

how to occupy space and place (Dale and Burrel, 2008). The findings on framings expand the study by focusing on power relations.

Next, discussion will centre on two forms of power at the 'Street of Harmony', namely 'power to' and the 'power over' (Dovey, 1999). 'Power to' relates to the power to make the community do what has been planned or decided for them. Meanwhile, the 'power over' is a control of action over others which exists in the forms of power exerted, including force, coercion, segregation, manipulation, and seduction. Finally, I will explain how power is mediated through the built environment, according to Dovey's (1999) dimensions of architecture of binary nature that are related to the 'Street of Harmony'. These include orientation/disorientation, public/private, segregation/access, nature/history, stability/change, authentic/fake, identity/difference, dominant/docile, and place/ideology.

6.2.1 Types of frame

Frame is used as a form of exclusion and inclusion in determining how space and place are used in the 'Street of Harmony'. The concept of frame also relates to how the street is presented to the communities, and with frame people are able to see the options in carrying out their duties, plan their everyday life and make decision. The study revealed that there are six types of frames: the policy frame, the community-centred frame, the tourism frame, the political frame, the religious frame, and the heritage frame, which will be discussed one by one. These frames denote control over the social relationship in a setting, and influence how meanings are put together (Bernstein, 1971). Some of the frames are related with one another and some can influence the other types of framing.

6.2.1.1 Policy frame

Policy framing is used to shape the usage of space and place, and therefore interact with the tangible and intangible heritage. The types of policies that have been identified as impacting the field are urban heritage and conservation policy, and education policy. The policies act as a guide to control, inform rules and guidelines, and express power relations. In this section, I will also show how policy frame can contribute to the understanding of the nature of space and place at the 'Street of Harmony'.

a. Heritage and conservation policy

The development within the site is guided and controlled by the SAP of George Town, which was gazetted on 1 September 2016. The SAP is a conservation management plan prepared by the Penang state authority and it includes guidelines and detailed proposals as well as the management strategies for the site. In the planning policy of George Town WHS, the 'Street of Harmony' is categorised as a special zone. Based on the SAP, Jalan Masjid Kapitan Keling embraces the OUV Criterion (iii) more than other streets in the George Town WHS. The criterion relates to the unique and exceptional testimony of a cultural tradition or civilisation, represented by the tangible and the intangible heritage elements:

> The Street of Harmony along Jalan Masjid Kapitan Keling, which has various religious institutions lined up along an axis, is richly endowed with spiritual values and cultural diversity. (Town and Country Planning Department Pulau Pinang, 2016: C2-2).

In addition, Jalan Masjid Kapitan Keling is considered as one of the Priority Areas for the Planning and Design Guides in the SAP, where prior approval from the Penang SPC must be obtained for every development or implementation programme. The SPC has

the authority to resolve any conflict between the Penang Structure Plan and other development plans. This includes proposals on the improvement of public realms, and façades at the 'Street of Harmony' in the future. Figure 6.8 shows the boundaries of Priority Area D at the Jalan Masjid Kapitan Keling, the area footprint, and the category of each building, while Figure 6.9 shows the Planning and Design Guide for Priority Area D.

Figure 6.8: The boundaries of the priority area showing the significance of each building and the footprint in relation to the bigger context of the George Town WHS.
Source: Special Area Plan – George Town Historic Cities of the Straits of Malacca (Town and Country Planning Department Pulau Pinang, 2016).

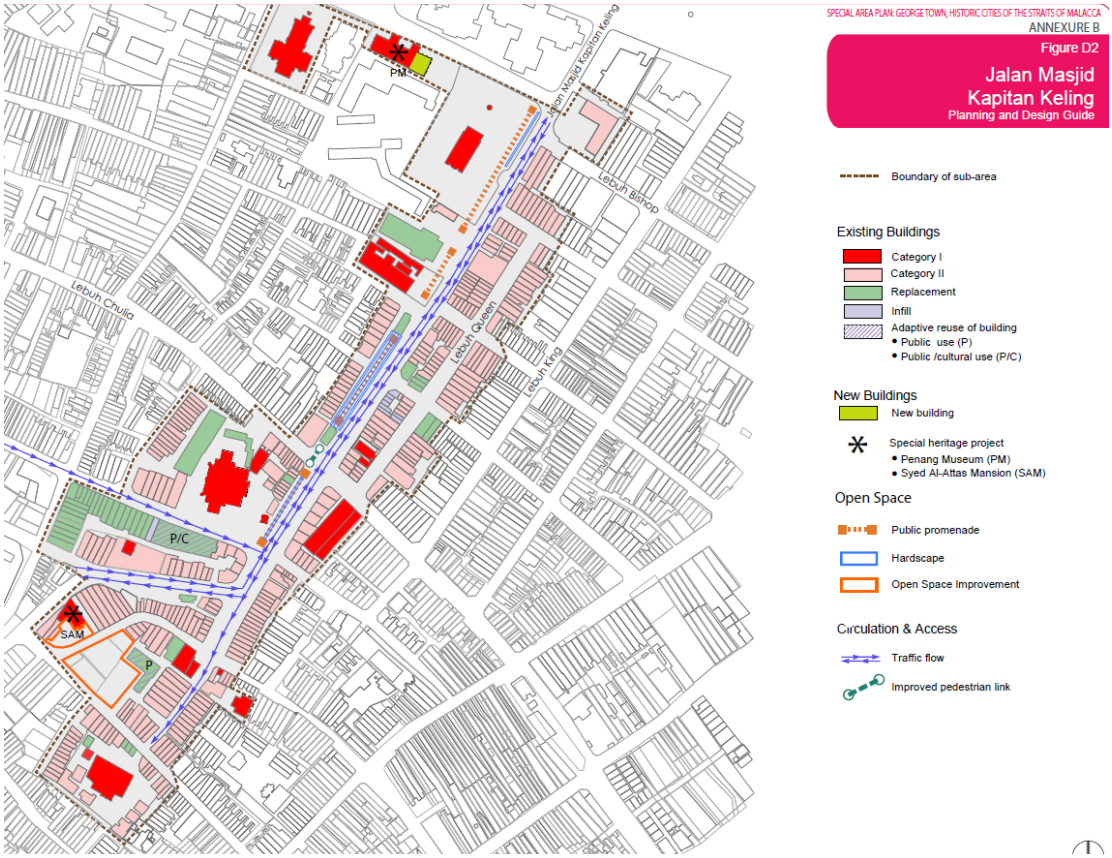

Figure 6.9: The Planning and Design Guide for Priority Area D. Part of the programme includes improvement of public amenities – the pedestrian walkway, the hard and soft landscape, façade upgrading, and improvement of traffic flow. Source: Special Area Plan – George Town Historic Cities of the Straits of Malacca (Town and Country Planning Department Pulau Pinang, 2016).

Even though the gazettement of the SAP was a big relief to all heritage interest parties, it is obvious that the document is lacking in details and incomprehensive. Interviewees expressed considerable dissatisfaction about the contents of the SAP. An architect who is also a building conservator claimed that the SAP needs to be revised, and to consider the non-vehicular activities as well as pedestrian connectivity. Being part of the team in preparing the SAP, he thinks that there are better ways to manage traffic at the site, particularly during cultural processions, and there is a need to provide a better public realm to accommodate the cultural activities that take place within the street. Figure 6.10 for example, indicates the place where a temporary stage was set up in front of the

Yap Temple and a row of shophouses for the birthday of the deities, and during the Hungry Ghost Festival. The city council has allocated space for bicycle parking in the same area, causing obstruction to the flow of the activities.

Figure 6.10: The parking space for bicycles allocated by the MBPP did not consider the activities of place. Here, the temporary stage was set up in the middle of the bicycle parking, located in front of the Yap Temple.
Source: The Author.

The much-anticipated SAP was gazetted together with the Penang Heritage Enactment 2011 and its additional legal mechanism for the enforcement – the Penang Heritage Regulations 2016. The controversy of the delayed gazettement of the SAP by the state government over the last few years, and then the extension of the date of gazettement from 1 August 2016 to 1 September 2016, has raised concerns in the public. A town planner from the Penang Town and Country Planning Department (JPBD) stated the failure of the state government to expedite the gazettement has given opportunities to irresponsible parties, especially the unlicenced hotel operators around George Town, to

submit their development (planning or building) applications before 1 September 2016, and therefore have the freedom of not complying with the SAP guidelines. The state government has given their word that any application received before the gazettement of the SAP will be considered, and will not be subjected to the SAP rules and regulations. One of the requirements imposed by the World Heritage Committee is that once gazetted, every application received has to comply with the rules and regulations. The above matter showed how political power could change the future of the tangible and the intangible heritage values in the George Town WHS.

While the SAP has a specific section (Section D – Guidelines for the Conservation Areas and Heritage Buildings for George Town WHS) on how to control the tangible elements, the safeguarding of the intangible heritage has proven to be a challenge due to the undetailed guidelines in the SAP. When asked how the GTWHI will deal with this shortcoming, the officer in charge explained that they hoped by taking care of the tangible heritage values, they would be able to take care of the intangibles heritage values as well. He explained:

> When we [GTWHI] deal with a conservation project for a heritage building, during the commencement of the project, if there are any intangible [heritage] elements, we will request the tenants to leave the building. We will call them back when the project has been completed. So, the conservation of tangible heritage elements does consider the continuity of the intangible heritage elements as well. For example, if a shophouse needs to be conserved and there is a traditional trade occupying the place, say a tombstone engraver, we will ask him what are the specific requirements that he needs to make sure that his business is not affected during the process.

In addition to the above, another officer from the GTWHI explained that in order to make decisions on the future of cultural heritage in George Town, good monitoring and management is needed, and it starts with complete inventories of the heritage assets. To

GTWHI, the tangible heritage inventories are always updated. However, the intangible heritage needs to be analysed in detail; then only can they make better decisions for the site. He further clarified:

> It is a great challenge for us in managing the physical aspects, and of course, the intangible heritage part is more challenging because it incorporates so many elements – the food, music, songs, dances, stories, languages. Every one of those aspects is interlinked with one another, as in all communities around the world, not just for World Heritage Site communities.

However, the GTWHI representative is concerned with the change of use of buildings, especially when the owners are inclined to cater to the tourism industry. Even though there are guidelines on building control described in the SAP, there are still people who managed to change the building use without obtaining prior permission. This took place due to the absence of strict enforcement and monitoring by the MBPP. The same view was shared by a historian cum heritage advocate, who thinks that the local council should take serious actions in enforcing the SAP, especially on the change of use of buildings, the type of business, or even on the incompliance to rules in undertaking renovation works in the heritage area.

The Heritage Department of MBPP is responsible for all applications for development in the heritage areas, as well as to advise and educate people on heritage conservation matters. While others think that the department should be more proactive, bold and assertive, a representative from the Heritage Department believed that a better approach is by negotiation and acting as a consultant, preferably until the owners voluntarily comply with the rules and regulations. She explained that MBPP delivers public lectures and educates people, as many are still ignorant and have very limited information on the matter. The MBPP has always come under fire over this soft approach, which heritage

activists feel will result in more heritage buildings being demolished, and may later affect the OUVs of the site.

The Technical Review Panel (TRP) set up by MBPP consists of 11 panelists, and the appointments was made directly by the Chief Minister of Penang. Among the members of the panels are the General Manager of the GTWHI, a representative from the Malaysian Institute of Architects, a representative from the Malaysian Institute of Planners, a Member of the State Assembly, the Secretary of MBPP, the Heritage Commissioner, and NGO representatives. The TRP was given the mandate to review all new developments in the George Town WHS, controlling and taking care of the outstanding universal values. Any project that goes through the TRP is required to indicate its contribution to and relation with the OUV. However, the TRP's scope mainly involves the tangible aspects of heritage, particularly the functions of the buildings. According to one of the TRP members, in general, the TRP only reviews the tangible aspects of heritage. When it comes to matters related to intangible heritage other panels which are more expert in that aspect will take over, for example, representatives from the GTWHI and the PHT will be brought in.

A heritage advocate believes that the MBPP is still learning how to manage the WHS. The use of the buildings within the area is one important thing that should be considered carefully. She stated:

> One of the things I have always said is that they [MBPP] should encourage mixed-use, but not full commercial use. There should not be too much full commercial use except on the main streets. Mixed-use is good because the people who stay there can also get some income.

Reflecting on the role of MBPP, an architect asserted that there should be adequate numbers of professionals and officers in the municipal council who really understand the contents of the SAP and UNESCO's operational guidelines. The reality is that George Town WHS is only a part of MBPP's responsibilities, as they have a huge area to cover for the whole city. The heritage advocate continued to express her view:

> Heritage is something new. So, when it is new, public awareness is important and lobbying and public pressure [are done] to persuade the authorities to manage things in a different way. That is important, and it is an on-going process. MBPP compared to 20 years ago, is much more conscious of what they need to do … outside of the World Heritage Site, I feel that there is no protection or hardly any protection for heritage buildings and MBPP needs to extend the protection beyond the World Heritage Site.

The state government clearly needs to have a strong will in implementing the SAP for George Town WHS. Preparing the SAP is a long process that involves the participation of stakeholders, including the owners of shophouses, NGOs, local councils, historians, architects, town planners, among others. The SAP is the best reference to a detailed set of proposals and guidelines for the site, as it has taken into account all the stakeholders' opinions and even objection notes made during the draft stages. The site suggests a need for integrated documents that take care of both the intangible and tangible heritage values. The SAP needs to be of a standard that is inclusive, non-biased, transparent, and promotes community participation at the highest level. The policy framing also suggests the 'Street of Harmony' as a site that needs to consider the value of the context beyond the WHS zone, as it has direct impact on the sustainability of the site.

b. Education policy

Another policy related to the 'Street of Harmony' is the education. Many programmes promoting the arts, cultural heritage and conservation in Penang actively include the

younger generation and receive support from Malaysia's Ministry of Education (MoE). The Ministry promotes the National Cultural Policy introduced in 1971 to strengthen the national identity of the multicultural society in Malaysia. To date, many programmes involving schoolchildren and teachers have been organised to achieve the goals of cultural vitality and sustainability. Arts-ED has come far in their mission, but one of their earlier events raised a big question about the openness and acceptance of the Malaysian people towards their multicultural heritage. In 2006, free guided walking tours called the 'World Religions Walk' were organised at Jalan Masjid Kapitan Keling for school students, as part of the programme under the Penang Global Ethic Project (see Figure 6.11). The programme ended abruptly and the Penang Education Department (JPNPP) claimed the walking tour had not received their approval, thus reminding the heads of school not to allow participation by their students.

Figure 6.11: Groups of schoolchildren visited the Kapitan Keling Mosque and the Kuan Yin Temple as part of the 'World Religions Walk', which included entering the internal spaces of the places of worship, as well as getting to know other people's religion and culture.
Source: http://www.globalethicpenang.net/webpages/act_01h_01.htm

A similar guided walk made a comeback in 2008, in conjunction with the George Town's listing as a WHS, and Arts-ED had requested permission for school students to join the walk. Unfortunately, permission was only given for a minimum number of students from certain schools to attend the opening ceremony. The reason given for the imposition of this restriction was the desire to prevent students from spending too much time on non-school activities during school hours. Following this, no such walks have been organised for schoolchildren to this day.

The tour guide who was involved with the programme back in 2006 still feels frustrated and angry today, as all the feedback she received from the students was good and the programme was considered educational and eye-opening. She explained her vivid memories of the issue:

> Students were inside the Kuan Yin Temple, and that picture [in the Star newspaper] portrayed a Muslim girl in a 'tudung' [headscarf]. Suddenly, there was a big hoo-ha [fuss]. The father, the parent of this [Muslim] girl, said that we were trying to convert her. Everything stopped after that, and nobody wants to go [for] the tour anymore. The [Penang] Education Department called up and said, 'do not do that tour anymore'… As a guide, we never ever convert any students. We always tell them good things about religion, regardless of their background.

The understanding among certain groups of people about other people's religion and culture did not meet the expectations of the organisers. The worry when a Muslim who goes inside a church or temple might convert to another religion is quite common among Muslims, due to the religious habitus. The habitus is embodied, and believers see it as irreligious if a Muslim enters a church or temple. This has influenced and affected their acceptance of the programme. The same tour guide continued to explain:

> In my last group, a student asked me: 'Can we go in?' Because their teachers were sitting outside [the building], when we were at the Kuan Yin Temple. So, the students who were of the same religion only were allowed to go in [the temple]. They were so afraid, so it becomes such a burden for me… It is like 'haram' [an act that is forbidden in Islam] to go in [the building], but the request for the tour came from them.

The above is an example of how a decision made by an authorised group of people who do not understand cultural heritage influenced the way people interact with the tangible heritage and the intangible heritage elements of the 'Street of Harmony'.

However, apart from activities that involve religious and cultural sensitivities, many other programmes have been organised to include schoolchildren to promote a better understanding of the cultural heritage in Penang among the younger generation. Arts-ED has worked in partnership with the JPNPP, Think City, the PHT, and the GTWHI to educate young people about arts, culture and heritage. In November 2016, a Cultural Heritage Education Programme (CHEP) was introduced as a platform to instil better appreciation of the cultural heritage among the younger generations (aged 10 to 18 years old), in order to understand cultural identity and feelings of attachment to the place. One of the programmes under the CHEP is the Heritage Exploration Trail, which is an interactive guided walk providing opportunities for participants to explore and appreciate the tangible and intangible cultural heritage in George Town. Figure 6.12 shows the pupils from SJK(C) Moh Ghee Cawangan – a national-type Chinese primary school which participated in one of the heritage exploration trails. The trail aimed to promote understanding of the historical migrant settlement areas that have formed part of the unique multicultural communities in George Town.

Figure 6.12: Students from SJK(C) Moh Ghee Cawangan visited four places of worship along the 'Street of Harmony' and learned to use all their senses to better understand the community's living and built heritage.
Source: PIBK SJKC Moh Ghee cawangan 慕義分校 Facebook page (PIBK SJKC Moh Ghee cawangan 慕義分校, 2016).

The state government has been very helpful and cooperative in promoting heritage conservation programmes to younger generations. However, there is still much to be done in educating them on the aspect of ethnic relations, for example, in understanding the boundaries between cultural tradition and religious rituals. Suspicion and distrust need to be avoided and this has to be done by getting to know more about other communities who live side by side with them.

6.2.1.2 Community-centred frame

The community-centred frame relates to the inclusion of the community in determining the use of space and place in the 'Street of Harmony'. Think City has a mission to empower community participation in their projects. All of the projects are open to everyone regardless of ethnic group or religion, whereby they are not biased on which identity is to be represented, as decisions are made based on the community's interest and how far they take ownership over their space. An officer of Think City explained:

> The politics of race makes it as if there is contestation between people of different races and belief systems. It has never been the case. The problem is that the politicians and the political system are trying to take advantage for their own personal gains.

At the 'Street of Harmony' projects under Think City which involve the local community include the regeneration of the Star Pitt Street building, the back lanes programme, and the restoration of the dome at Kapitan Keling Mosque, among others. Think City also collaborates with other stakeholders, for example, the GTWHI and the MBPP. The organisation of annual events such as the George Town Festival and the George Town WH Day celebration also involves participation from the local communities.

In the SAP, there is a list of strategies on how to educate and encourage participation from the local community in appreciating and managing the heritage. These include how the local community could manage their festivals, spaces, cultural events, etc; get greater appreciation of heritage from the communities and the younger generation by promoting and publishing activities in the WHS; engage community associations to manage their cultural assets/properties/sites; and also educate as well as involve the community in mapping and defining their cultural assets. The SAP, under section B1.4.23, Conservation Principles no. 6: Engaging Stakeholders and Community, has also stated the need to 'focus on consultation, negotiation with communities; community involvement in identifying significance; participation of associated communities; and conservation initiated by communities'. It was found that the communities do get involved in providing information, consultation and partnership in projects at the 'Street of Harmony'.

Another issue with regard to this frame is concern about the number of local residents left in George Town. Based on the survey commissioned by Think City, the number of residents in George Town WHS has decreased from 10,159 in 2009 to 9,425 in 2013 (Geografia, 2014). The loss of the residential population forms part of the issues and challenges acknowledged in the SAP, which has raised awareness of the crucial need to solve the problem before it becomes worse. From the survey, it was found that some of the reasons for this reduction in resident numbers include declining affordability of rented accommodation, insufficient amenities for young families, and the declining household size due to social changes (Geografia, 2014). Several interviewees consider there is a need to revive the Rent Control Act, which was abolished in the year 2000, so that more people can afford to live in George Town. However, according to a representative from PHT, they proposed a Tenancy Act that could give a sense of security in terms of tenure. But first, there needs to be a proper study undertaken to determine the number of residents affected, the trades, and the number of premises, for example. Feedback from residents is also important to get a clearer view of the on-site situation.

A heritage consultant who has been living in George Town for the past 20 years shares her view on the changes of the city from the time it was listed until eight years after the listing. She stated:

> Imagine you are living quietly in a nice little house and then somebody came along and said – 'this house is very nice, the whole world ought to see it'. Then somebody else came along and said 'Oh, I can bring in all the tourists'. And then all these people start looking in your bathroom, your kitchen, your living room and everything. Suddenly, you just do not own it anymore … So it has been devalued culturally, which is a great shame. But there is a natural evolution, a natural change anyway. They [the residents] get socioeconomic improvement. People then move out to different housing, and there were forced evictions… The real George Town – I think we have lost it already. But we got a tiny little bit, that is holding itself together, the symbols of those cultures, the symbol of those people who are still there and the places of worship on the 'Street of Harmony' [are still there].

Her comments tells the real situation and conflicts faced by local residents themselves, living in a WHS, sharing the space with a large amount of visitors compared to years ago. The state government needs to be more sensitive to the problems faced by the local communities, and increase their roles in the protection of the site.

The fact that civil society is very strong in Penang has also influenced how the community-centred frame is used. Among them is a group called the George Town Heritage Action (GTHA), which is well known for being vocal and nosy. GTHA has been using a social media account – Facebook – as a way to communicate (see Figure 6.13), and consistently call for press conferences when there are important issues regarding the cultural heritage in Penang. The group closely observes the monitoring and implementation of heritage projects in George Town, which to them many do not fully comply with the acts and guidelines as stated in the SAP.

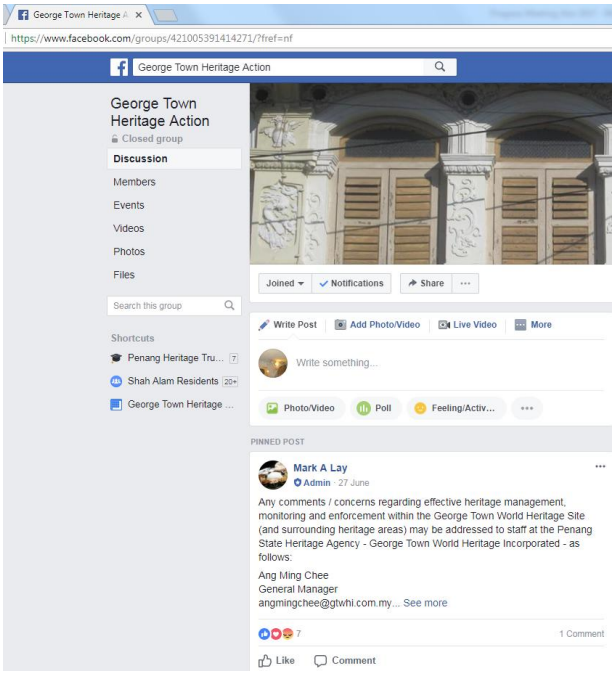

Figure 6.13: The sneak peek of GTHA's Facebook page that allows the public to get fresh and updated news about George Town WHS, and acts as a platform to raise concerns about issues of heritage and conservation in Penang.
Source: George Town Heritage Action Facebook page (George Town Heritage Action, 2016).

One of the TRP panelists expressed his view on the attitude of the representative of this new watchdog and heritage champion in Penang, which to him is outrageous. He expressed his concerns:

> For me, their modus operandi is too much. They [GTHA] took photos secretly; they climbed and took photos of the renovation works at certain buildings without consents. Then they called a press conference. That is not a proper way; they are not providing information about the scene to seek cooperation from us, but instead to blame us and the way we do our work. They [GTHA] did not check the details applying to the project; they did not know the real story.

The TRP panelist strongly felt that one needed to really understand Malaysian culture before getting involved with heritage conservation issues in Penang. Another striking comment was given by a non-Malaysian heritage consultant who has been living in George Town for the past 20 years, through which she expressed her opinion on the involvement of outsiders on heritage and conservation projects. She believed the most

important thing is to make sure those who are involved in heritage and conservation project to understand the context of the place clearly. One of the examples is the Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) signed in 2013 between Aga Khan Trust for Culture and Think City to provide technical support and assistance in the enhancement of the George Town WHS. She explained:

> I have experienced this myself as an outsider, you really got to pay attention. You cannot just come for a few weekends and think you know it all … It is a massive infrastructure project, and then avoid damaging the history by accident because you think it is nice to turn a seat in this direction instead of that direction, but it has a different meaning for the people over there. So, I think that the potential for them [the partnership] is enormous, but the difficulty was trying to actually execute and really understand what they are looking at.

However, during an interview, a former academic believed that outsiders are also important to provide balance in offering inputs on the place, as local communities tend to have environmental numbness – as they are too familiar with the place and become less sensitive to the environment. Therefore, the issue of a community-centred frame does not only cover the need to have local communities to keep the city going, increasing the sense of place and providing better ownership over the place. It also involves the issue on who is considered and can be regarded as the local communities; it relates to the issue of inclusion and exclusion of the local communities; the number of residents available to keep the city going and survive sustainably, as well as the power to select suitable actors in the community-centred programmes.

6.2.1.3 Tourism frame

The Ministry of Tourism and Culture (MOTAC) is responsible for developing policies related to tourism and culture, and part of the mission of the Ministry is ‘to strengthen, conserve and preserve national arts, culture and heritage’ (Ministry of Tourism and

Culture, 2017). In addition, the Ministry aims to drive the tourism and culture sectors as the catalyst for a sustainable socioeconomic growth (Ministry of Tourism and Culture, 2017). However, in discussing the importance of heritage and tourism at the George Town WHS, there is a concern about the amount of money spent in both fields. According to an officer from the Department of National Heritage, the MOTAC concentrates on tourism more compared to heritage and culture, especially in allocation of budget. She is of the opinion this relates to the issue of Return on Investment, where the Ministry focuses on projects which they feel can generate a greater income. She believes that the importance of heritage tourism needs to be understood well by all parties, particularly the Malaysian government itself. Here, she cited the example of how the Penang state government does not rely on the federal government for budget to carry out heritage conservation works. The Penang state government took the initiative and collaborates closely with Think City in implementing the projects.

In Penang, the tourism industry is managed by PGT, which is responsible for promoting, marketing and generating tourism for the whole of the state of Penang. This includes undertaking overseas missions in promoting Penang as a tourist destination, and promoting local products by supporting events such as the George Town Festival and the George Town Literary Festival. PGT has been using the 'Street of Harmony' as a tool for promoting heritage and tourism and as a teaser for the tourists to explore other tourism destinations in Penang. A visit to the PGT's tourist information centre revealed their high interest in the street, especially when looking at the size of banners at the information area.

I managed to join one of the three free weekly guided tours, called the George Town Walkabout Tour, which covers almost the entire length of the 'Street of Harmony'. In terms of the narration of the site, the PGT has outlined certain narratives that need to be told to the tourists. According to the representative from the Tourism Promotions Department of PGT, the narratives focused on the value of the site including the buildings, background, the stories of daily life at the street and the local communities. From my observation, the tour guide's narration about the place generally covers the outline set by the PGT. However, during the tour he took the participants to enter into only two buildings – the Kuan Yin Temple and the Hock Teik Cheng Sin Temple – to explain in detail about the rituals and practices, architecture and the internal spaces. The other buildings, especially the Indian temple, and the mosques along the 'Street of Harmony' were explained briefly from outside, but there was a long explanation about St George's Church and the history of colonialism even though the participants did not have the chance to enter the church as well. I believed that the openness of the two Chinese temples in receiving guests was the reason why the guide chose to bring us there, as compared to the other places. This has certainly had an impact on the values of heritage at the 'Street of Harmony' in the perspective of the tourists, the majority of whom came from Europe and Australia.

However, in their mission to promote Penang as a tourism destination, there are conflicts that need to be managed by the PGT. One of them is the tourism versus heritage dilemma, which involves the difference between the visions and missions of the stakeholders of the George Town WHS. The representative from the Tourism Promotions Department of PGT explained:

> Our main objective is actually to promote this place, not just George Town but Penang as a whole, as a tourism destination. Many times, our approaches are conflicting with the objectives of the GTWHI… For example, we want to see more development at the George Town World Heritage Site, but the GTWHI wants to protect and preserve them. They want to keep the true value. But for us, what we want to see is tourists coming in. What they [GTWHI] want to see is the balance of tourism and also the responsibility of keeping the heritage.

The statement demonstrates that there is lack of shared vision for the George Town WHS. Another issue relating to the tourism frame is the carrying capacity of the site. In March 2017, George Town was flooded with tourists from eight cruise ships, which arrived in the Swettenham Pier Cruise Terminal at Weld Quay located just a few minutes' walk from the 'Street of Harmony'. This was considered as a victory by the state tourism industry, in promoting George Town as a popular cruise disembarkation point, even though the tourists' arrival caused some inconveniences particularly in traffic management. A heritage consultant shared her opinion on how the focus of activities has changed with the development of mass tourism:

> So, you got massive collections of tour buses that turned up, and the characters [of George Town WHS] really changed because it was full of people who are just glancing. 'The tourist's gaze' is what it is called. Whereas the street ['Street of Harmony'] used to be about people who determined to go to the buildings, to do worship for the improvement of themselves and their lives. So, it is a very different focus now.

Tourism activities have also had negative impacts on the users of the 'Street of Harmony'. The heritage consultant continued to explain about her experience of living in one of the shophouses at George Town:

> This year is the first year in 12 years that I have actually been asked if I would like to participate in the Chinese New Year celebrations. Usually, when I open my doors, I will discover somebody else on the [five-foot way] cooking something oily all over the building. With tourism, the local community is not seen as anything other than a hindrance … When you have an overexcited tourism industry, they [the city council] ended up closing the roads regularly and not even discussing it with each other. So, they [the business owners] do not

> know how many times a year [the road will be closed] and that has been killing off a lot of the businesses.

Another challenge faced by both PGT and GTWHI is to create a balance in terms of the heritage elements to be promoted through tourism. Currently, PGT is concentrating more towards tangible heritage, particularly the buildings; however, in managing the intangible elements, they need to work closely with GTWHI.

6.2.1.4 Heritage frame

Another important frame is heritage, which was initially championed by the civil society in Penang. According to the PHT representative, people who are involved in the civil society in Penang are from the middle-class group. The majority of them are Chinese, as they are very entrepreneurial and can see the advantage of tourism in the heritage area. Civil society plays an important role in making sure that the government carry out their duties in the most responsible manner. A former politician of Penang gave an insight on the power to transform the image and the identity of the place:

> Well, of course, it has to be the government [decision on image and identity of George Town], but the government is also depending on the people. So, finally it is the people [of Penang] who have the final say. If they do not agree, they will pull down the government.

Meanwhile, a heritage consultant expressed her appreciation of the contribution of the NGOs:

> I think they did champion it [heritage and conservation] and they champion it in many ways. Not just the physical but the intangible as well … They have done a brilliant job so far, but I think they have a very tough job to keep it going now. It is a very dangerous zone where we are losing so many people, [traditional] trades and interlinked trades and identities.

A heritage advocate shared her idea on how the street should be represented as part of the port of Penang, multicultural and rich with cultural diversity – a process that did not happen overnight. She believes that the most important thing is to manage the development in the WHS in a sustainable way. She further explained:

> What does the World Heritage Site represent and do people who are taking care of the World Heritage Site understand it? One is the cultural diversity. Two is the living community, which is of course, being threatened because of the property market, the rental situation and new uses [of the building]. I am not saying that there should be no new uses, but they should not threaten the old ones. The built heritage should represent sustainable living… The whole shophouse pattern is very good for the neighbourhood. I think that some of these ideas have been translated into tourism, but it is not translated into a sustainable community.

Today, the issues of heritage conservation go beyond the boundary of George Town WHS, for example, regarding the proposed transport hub in Sia Boey, which is near the site and has the potential to harm George Town WHS. After receiving continuous pressure from heritage activists and the public, the Penang state government has finally agreed to relocate the proposed transport hub away from the original proposed site.

6.2.1.5 Political frame

As mentioned in the context chapter, following the George Town WHS listing there was a change in the political party leading the Penang state government. The previous political party, Gerakan, leading under the coalition of the Barisan Nasional (BN) state government, had gone through the process of getting George Town listed as a WHS. However, Gerakan did not manage to enjoy the success of their efforts as they lost in the Malaysian 12th general election to the Democratic Action Party (DAP) in 2008. The decision of listing George Town as a WHS was announced on 1 July 2008, a few months after the general election. The current state government is still led by the DAP,

an opposition party in the Pakatan Harapan coalition, as compared to the federal government of Malaysia, which is led by the ruling coalition of the BN. Divergence of views often occur between the federal and state government, both before and after the WH listing at George Town.

In discussing political influence in heritage conservation in Penang, a former politician of Penang told how he had faced a lot of pressure back then, especially from the developers. He shared his experience in dealing with the contested issue of a proposal for the redevelopment of waqf (endowed) properties of the Acheen Street Malay Mosque back in the 1990s. The dispute occurred due to the conflicting interest in heritage and the political pressure of development, which then became a sensitive issue when it involved religious concerns – the waqf properties. He explained:

> It was not started by the Muslims; it was the Chinese businessmen who were against heritage, who wanted to demolish and develop. So, it was through the Chinese Chamber of Commerce. They brought in the Malay Chamber of Commerce, and in a way provoked them also to object [to the heritage conservation]. Then it took a religious turn, became a religious anger, as it is waqf land … It became really heated, where they [the Malays] were against a non-Muslim and non-Malay Chief Minister, [who was] trying to limit and restrict their development. Of course, they have their point, in their sense that they were really worried about their 'qariah' [congregation members] getting smaller. So, they want to build high-rise – low-cost, medium-low cost [flats] around the Acheen Street Malay Mosque, but then it will destroy the ambience of the whole mosque. To them, it is more important to provide for the number of people or worshippers than [taking care of the] heritage. So, I was caught in-between in that sense. But luckily, the former Deputy [of the Prime Minister], and then the Prime Minister was very pro-heritage. So the solution was, the federal government gave allocations based on the concept of the public realm. As all the waqf is under [the management of] Majlis Agama Islam [Penang Islamic Religious Council], so it was given to them to renovate, to conserve all these buildings.

One of the federal-state government issues is the gazettement of buildings in Penang to become listed as a national heritage of Malaysia. The Yap Temple at Armenian Street,

which is very near to the ‘Street of Harmony’, for example, is among the 18 Penang buildings that have been under the nomination list to be declared as a ‘National Heritage’. However, to date, the gazettement is still on hold as the Department of National Heritage has yet to obtain consent from the Penang state government due to some technicalities (*Malaysian Insider*, 2015). It is clearly stated under Section 30 of the National Heritage Act 2005 (Act 645) that ‘Where the site is situated in a State, the Commissioner shall obtain the consent of the State Authority of that State before any designation is made’ (Government of Malaysia, 2005).

In an interview, one of the TRP panellists told that both the current and previous state government understand heritage aspects and the requirements from UNESCO. However, cooperation between the state government and the federal government is not very strong due to differences in political viewpoints. The state government claimed for more funding in managing the WH, as it is a site that belongs to Malaysia, but the federal government established Think City to manage the RM 20 million grant through the George Town Grants Programme (GTGP). The state government has been working very well with Think City, even though it is part of the federal government investment company.

A representative from the Department of National Heritage found that it is easy to work with the state government even though the federal government is of a different political party from the state government of Penang. She explained:

> We [the Department of National Heritage] are working closely with Penang state government. We have Think City which is very active [in urban regeneration projects] and we work closely with the Chief Minister's [of Penang] office too … So far, we have no problem and no political influences on the decisions. Everything we do is based on the Act [Act 645], our guidelines and the Conservation Management Plan. We work together professionally, to ensure that we safeguard our heritage.

However, political interference has also taken place, which affects the current and future representation of the 'Street of Harmony'. A heritage activist was frustrated when she found out that some of the contents in the SAP have been adjusted. She explained:

> Political interference makes a farce of the independent consultancy process. Independent consultants went through the processes [of preparing SAP], and then realised that political decision-making gave more weight to certain business stakeholders rather than to resident communities. Politics is biased to powerful parties and often servicing common good becomes tokenistic; e.g. the World Heritage Site caters to mass tourism rather than cultural tourism to the detriment of the physical site and residents. One wonders whose mission, vision and interests were served by the several adjustments made to the SAP and with the delay in its implementation.

To the heritage activist, this is clearly an act of injustice perpetuated by the state government. To change the contents without consulting the other stakeholders raised suspicions of whether there are hidden motives behind it.

A good federal-state government relationship is an important factor in achieving better management of the WHS site. It is important to get those who have power in decision-making to really understand the value of the cultural heritage. The 'Street of Harmony' has to endure differences in terms of individuals or groups that have interests in the cultural heritage. As a conclusion, the political frame is very much determined by the agenda setting, aspirations, motivations, vision, mission, interests and preferences of the stakeholders.

6.2.2 Forms of power

The above section has discussed how frames become mechanisms of control of power. Dovey (1999) suggested that framing could clarify the link between place and the exercise of power. Therefore, it is important to understand what forms of power exist and here I refer to the discourses of Dovey (1999), Njoh (2007) and Miliband (1969) on power that is related to the tangible and the intangible heritage at the 'Street of Harmony'. According to Dovey (1999), power can be categorised into two types, namely the 'power to' and the 'power over'. Miliband (1969) stated that 'power of the state to' is the mechanism that makes the community do what the state has planned or decided. 'Power over' is a control of action over others (Dovey, 1999). The forms of power that can be found at the 'Street of Harmony' include coercion, segregation, seduction and authority.

Coercion finds expression at the 'Street of Harmony' through surveillance, manifested by enforcement of rules and regulations. For example, an owner of a building who does not comply with the building guidelines when undertaking renovations will be fined by the local council – MBPP. Firstly, a notice to stop work or 'a stop work order' will be given, followed by other actions that will be taken as necessary. Coercion can be both a positive and a negative form of power. For the local authority, it is a way to control the development, while for the landowner it means being fined or maybe even losing their business. Figure 6.14 shows the notice given by MBPP (stapled on a timber plank) to the building owner, stating the MBPP has observed that the renovation works are obstructing the 'five-foot way'. It is also stated that MBPP will take necessary action and enforcement if there is no response to their complaint (in the form of action to

remove the said obstruction). Here the power exercised over the tenant is manifested by issuing a notice (issued by the Engineer of MBPP) on behalf of the Director of Heritage Conservation of MBPP.

Figure 6.14: The notice issued by MBPP to the building owner regarding the renovation project at the 'Street of Harmony'.
Source: The Author.

The construction of public buildings and monuments by the colonial power, for example the Penang Town Hall and Fort Cornwallis, which is very near the 'Street of Harmony', has been a successful means of achieving the goal of dominating the place and an expression of colonial power. This, in a way, displays the amount of resources and technology possessed by the colonial rulers (Njoh, 2007). This also echoes Dovey's (1999: 10) statement: 'spatial domination through exaggerated scale or dominant location can belittle the human subject as it signifies the power necessary to its production'.

Another example of coercion and surveillance is the monitored silence and rules of no photographs without permission in the internal space of St George's Church; these can be found coercive by a visitor who needs to make a phone call, but conducive to the performance of prayers for the worshippers. At the church there was a member of staff appointed to enforce this regulation strictly, and according to her, the regulation is complied with, except for a very few isolated cases (visitors being disrespectful and using harsh words) which need the intervention of the church's guard. Here, power is exercised not only concerning the external fabric of a building, but also in the use of the interior. The mosques and temples are less strict than the church in this matter.

Segregation is another form of 'power over'. At the 'Street of Harmony', it includes the construction of boundaries that separate the space according to gender, status, age, and ethnic groups. One example is the usage of signboards near the gate of the Kapitan Keling Mosque and the Acheen Street Malay Mosque, which state the rules on dress code and etiquette when visiting a mosque. To enter the mosque, visitors must dress modestly and women have to cover their body (arms, legs, and hair) as shown in Figure 6.15. The rules, if followed, will provide visitors with the privilege of access, as indicated by Njoh (2007) in his study of British colonial towns in Africa. Here, the power includes the inclusion and exclusion of people who can have access to a place, and also of marking boundaries between the private and the public space at the 'Street of Harmony'. The power is also an expression of the identity of a place, in this case two prominent Muslim mosques – one Indian Muslim and the other Malay. Another example of segregation is how the 'divide and rule' policy by the colonial British has segregated the ethnic groups in George Town 'along the lines of socioeconomic status',

as put by Njoh (2007: 8). For example, the Malays were located in the Malay town, the furthest from the colonial administration area because the Malay were well known as villagers who worked in the forest.

Figure 6.15: Female visitors were seen wearing a robe in the Kapitan Keling Mosque, with respect to the rules set up by the committee and the State Religious Council. Source: The Author.

Another example of segregation is the British style of governance and control of power, using the 'divide and rule' policy in dealing with the diversity of people living in George Town during its early establishment. According to Hassan (2009), the gridiron layout of the streets in early George Town has the potential to avoid issues of contested land ownership as it marks the perimeter or boundary of the site, which is crucial for the diverse George Town. However, in reality, today, the spatial confinement is not very clear and overlaps. In early George Town, the Europeans' settlement was the nearest to the colonial administration area and Fort Cornwallis, a fort built by the British. Each ethnic group was free to practise their religion, culture, celebrations and languages, as

the focus of the British in Penang was more on the use of the port for trading. Each community was led by a 'kapitan', who was the appointed leader who managed the community in his own way without interference from the British, except for capital punishment.

The seduction of place provides visitors with different spatial practices and experiences, and it relates to the form of seduction – the dreams, contents and motivations of the authorities involved in the tourism industry. The tourism industry in Penang, for example, relies very much on the colonial past and the history of George Town WHS in their marketing strategies. The 'Street of Harmony' especially has become a 'teaser' for international tourists to know about Penang – a vibrant multicultural town, a place to learn about diversity, different religions, and rituals. In one sense, it is highlighting moments of cultural pride where colonialism has created a multicultural society in Malaysia, but in another sense, it omits and obscures the other features of place for example the local heritage values.

The final form of power is authority, as it is clearly seen embedded in the institutional structure of the community at the 'Street of Harmony'. One example of how authority operates at the 'Street of Harmony' is through the placement of plaques of National Heritage for buildings so listed, as seen in Figure 6.16. At St George's Church, the plaque provides information that the building was gazetted as a National Heritage in 2007, and is protected under the National Heritage Act (Act 645). This also means that any issues regarding the building, and any funds required to maintain or conserve the building are under the responsibility and power of the Department of National Heritage,

as it is for taking care of public interest. Another form of authority is through the religious and cultural markers at the 'Street of Harmony', which also symbolise the multicultural identity in Penang. The visibility of religious symbols, for example the star and crescent at the mosque, the religious performances, the Friday prayers and the celebration of Prophet Muhammad's birthday that have been taking place in the 'Street of Harmony' contribute to the authority of the place as manifestations of the Muslim identity. The forms of power in the 'Street of Harmony' normally do not run on their own, they are always work in a combination (Dovey, 1999).

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Figure 6.16: Plaque displayed on the wall of St George's Church, which is a symbol of pride in being listed as National Heritage. It is also a form of power – the authority of the National Heritage Department and the Ministry (now Ministry of Tourism and Culture) over the building.
Source: The Author.

6.2.3 Mediation of power

The mediation of 'power over' using built form happened at the 'Street of Harmony' through the nine dimensions of architecture which are of binary nature – orientation/disorientation, public/private, segregation/access, nature/history,

stability/change, authentic/fake, identity/difference, dominant/docile and place/ideology (Dovey, 1999). The first dimension is orientation/disorientation, which involves how built form is oriented in a certain direction, indirectly influencing the spatial framing of the people and their daily activities. An example can be seen at the Kuan Yin Temple shown in Figure 6.17, which was built overlooking the sea.

Figure 6.17*:* The location of Kuan Yin Temple which was originally built to face the sea. Ironically, at certain times the Mazu (the sea deity) statue is located temporarily besides the Kuan Yin Temple, also facing the sea. The Mazu statue was placed there as part of the programme to obtain donations to build a Mazu temple.
Source: The Author.

It is been contested that the original dedication of the temple was for Mazu (or Ma Chor Po) the sea deity, but after the renovation of the temple in 1824, the deity for which the temple was dedicated was changed to Kuan Yin, the Goddess of Mercy (*The Star Online*, 2013). More deities were brought into the temple, reflecting the diversity of Chinese communities in Penang, for example, the Tua Pek Kong (God of Prosperity), and the Hu Ye (Tiger God), among others. In the past, before the land reclamation

works were carried out by the British in 1880–1904, which extended the coastline outwards, worshippers could have a direct view of the sea from the front court of the temple. Currently, the buildings, especially the shophouses and godowns, have blocked the view of the sea.

In discussing public/private, an example is the shophouse which its initial function is as a shop on the ground floor and a living space on the first floor (see Figure 6.18). Therefore, previously the ground floor served for public use and the first floor for private use. However, today the function of the shophouse has changed. Many owners and tenants have converted the first floor into storage space or office space (rather than residential use), which makes the first floor become a semi-public or semi-private space. Another important character of the shophouse is the five-footway, which can be either public or private space or somewhere in-between, based on the degree of access to it.

Figure 6.18: The variety of architectural influences of the shophouses and its climate-friendly ‘five-foot way’ which provides shade from sun and rain is a good example of a building typology that explains the concept of public and private.
Source: The Author.

In terms of segregation/access, the establishment of boundaries provides separation concerning how people occupy the space. Like many other mosques in the world, gender segregation can be seen at the mosques in the 'Street of Harmony' – they have separate entrances for males and females, as well as separate ablution and praying areas. Even I (as a female researcher and a Muslim), found myself feeling uncomfortable when I entered the male praying area, despite the fact that nobody deterred me from entering the space. One day, at around noontime, I was asked to leave the female praying area at the Kapitan Keling Mosque. A middle-aged Indian Muslim man politely told me to perform Zuhur (noon) prayer inside the Noordin tomb building, which is located in the same compound of the mosque, if I would like. I was puzzled, but silently left the mosque, before realising that it was Friday noon, and the mosque committee were preparing for Friday prayers. Therefore, there was a slight change of segregation and access to the praying area, as the mosque would be full of male worshippers. Malaysia is a country which observes the Shafie Mazhab, (one of the four schools of Sunni Islamic law), in which it is not obligatory for women to perform the Friday prayer. Therefore, my presence was seen as odd but not considered as disturbing the activities of worship.

The next dimension is nature/history. Many architectural forms unavoidably use representations of nature through metaphor and indirectly formed myth. At the Kuan Yin Temple, for example, there are figurines of dragons on the Southern Chinese architectural influenced roof, and on the pillars; these act as the guardians of the temple (see Figure 6.19). There are also buildings that have historically constructed meanings, for example the Acheen Street Malay Mosque. The mosque, which was built in 1808,

has become a centre of Islamic studies in Penang, and became the centre of hajj travel. The founder, Tengku Syed Hussain Al-Aidid, who was an influential and wealthy Achehnese trader of Arab descendent, was invited by Francis Light to carry out trading in Penang. The mosque was built on waqf land, endowed by Tengku Syed Hussain Al-Aidid; and the architecture is a combination of Moorish, oriental (Chinese) forms and neoclassical features. The mosque supports the authority of Malay Muslims in the field of business, printing, hajj travel, as an academic centre for Islamic teaching, in its international relations, and as proof of the Malay settlement back then in Penang.

Figure 6.19: The dragon figurines as part of the decoration for the Southern Chinese style roof at the Kuan Yin Temple show the cultural and spiritual symbols, used to mediate the power.
Source: The Author.

Another dimension is stability/change. The renovation of the Sri Mahamariamman Temple every few years (minor and major renovations) not only symbolises the respect

and love of its adherents for the Hindu gods and goddesses, but has also projects images of dynamism and illusions of the permanence and progress of the religious institution (see Figure 6.20). According to the representative of the Sri Mahamariamman Temple, the changes of development of the temple can be traced from its early history of establishment. He explained:

> The history of this temple refers back to the colonial period when the colonisers brought labourers from India, and then they [British] honoured up [the Indians] with the place of worship. So this place of worship was a small place of worship in Green Hall … Later in 1801, a [new] small temple was constructed over here, at the same location it exists now. It was just an 'attap' [thatched-roof] building … Apart from praying, it was also a social place after every prayer [session] in the evening time. The present temple was built in 1833 … There was a renovation in the 1950s, and then every 12 years. This year [2016] on 10th of July, we did a reconsecration ceremony with a full revamp renovation.

Figure 6.20: The Sri Mahamariamman Temple seen from its main entrance at Queen Street.
Source: The Author.

The ‘Street of Harmony’ is part of the WHS, and looking after its authenticity is related to the issue of power, as well as how the materiality and integrity of buildings are being taken care of. A notable example of authentic/fake renovation work in the ‘Street of Harmony’ can be seen during the latest restoration of the Kuan Yin Temple in 2014. An architect involved in the restoration of the Kuan Yin Temple explained about the need to get skilled workers and craftsmen to maintain the authenticity of the building. He stated:

> The craftsmen have to be from China. Local [craftsmen], there are none [whose skills are] up to the quality that we required. We have lost the skills already, but some [local] carpenters are reliable. For the ‘cut and paste’ [jian nian] work, we need to depend on craftsmen from China – good ones.

Meanwhile, another architect cum building conservator expressed his frustration over the latest restoration work of the Kuan Yin Temple. He considered it as a bad example of a Category I building, as the materiality and the technique of laying the roof tiles are not right. He explained:

> For the roof decoration, they should use the cut and paste technique [‘jian nian’] but they used the ready-made ones, and not using the original technique. Some does not carry any meaning on iconography in Chinese architecture. The colour is not the original colour and wrongly chosen. They also used modern paint, so it affects the restoration.

To him, MBPP is not strict enough, and the opinion of a building conservator is not taken fully into consideration, although it was clear that the proposal and the work carried out are not in accordance with the conservation principles and guidelines. With regard to identity/difference, the ‘Street of Harmony’ is symbolised as a street in which it is possible to learn about respect, tolerance, diversity and harmony (see Figure 6.21). Although in terms of community, the Indian Muslims, the Malay Muslims and Chinese are more distinct in presentation, however, the existence of other places of worship for

different ethnic groups has given a 'Malaysian' image to the place. As explained previously in this chapter under the sub-heading of the representation of identity, the 'Street of Harmony' is a hybrid space that has multiple identities, which is constructed to include or exclude, and to identify or to differentiate certain groups of people, cultures, religions, and institutions.

Figure 6.21: Artwork on the multicultural and diverse communities in Malaysia was displayed in front of Kapitan Keling Mosque to celebrate the national Independence Day on 31st of August 2016. The caricatures include the slogan 'Merdeka' (independence) and 'Anak-Anak Malaysia' (Malaysians) to promote patriotism, unity, harmony and integration.
Source: The Author.

In terms of dominant/docile, the scale of the waqf properties surrounding the Kapitan Keling Mosque, or even the scale of the mosque itself has made them look dominant when compared to other buildings at the 'Street of Harmony'. The Kapitan Keling Mosque looks more dominant in terms of its visual appearance as compared to the

Acheen Street Malay Mosque, and this is supported by its strategic location. Dominance in terms of scale and the unique architectural style of the mosque provides an image of great importance and control over the place. The waqf properties surrounding the mosque including houses, jewellery shops and money-changing businesses have strengthened the presence of Indian Muslims in the area. The mosque is also very active in religious and social activities, which makes it lively all year round.

The last dimension is place/ideology, which involves the sensory experience of the place. As mentioned in Chapter 5, under the theme of sense of place, the 'Street of Harmony' offers the users a variety of experiences , for example of being a worshipper, a buyer, a stroller, a business person and a street performer. As a place that houses different places of worship since the early George Town period, the experience of the place depends on the idea of the place as set by the authorised group. In George Town, the practise of applying power through architecture has been exercised for many years. This relates to the way in which some authorised groups control the resources used in the cultural production and consumption of architecture. The resources include the symbolic and iconographic systems, the organisational structures, the materials and locations.

6.3 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed another two interrelated themes of the study, the representation of the postcolonial identity and the framing of the 'Street of Harmony', and carries on to unfold the relationship between the WH designated city and its local communities. In the sub-chapter Representation of Postcolonial Identity, the

representation of the postcolonial identity in the ‘Street of Harmony’ relates to the history of place; it deals with identity formation, and partly touches on the struggle over identity formation. The issue on waqf lands, for example, is pertinent to many aspects concerning the representation of identity (Malay/Muslim), land use, urban planning, housing, community, kinship, charity values, commercial and religious management. The ‘Street of Harmony’ overcome the problem of identity formation by appropriating and transforming the process into the making of culturally appropriate representations. The way people are dealing with the postcolonial heritage relates to their memory of the past, their experience and the way they would like to remember it. At the ‘Street of Harmony’, the attitude towards the postcolonial heritage changes through time, which is in resonance with idea of Marschall (2008). The concept of thirdspace is further discussed as a basis to clarify the complexity of space at the ‘Street of Harmony’, with its rich framework to explain about spatial engagement based on the historical, cultural, economic and social layers. By reading the ‘Street of Harmony’ as a thirdspace, the active postcolonial city space is re-examined through the embodied and everyday practices. I also found that the representation of identity is multilayered and involves power relations, not only based on the colonial encounters but also present power.

In the final theme, Framing of the ‘Street of Harmony’, the types of frames were addressed by discussing cultural heritage as the key element. Here, it is agreed that framing refers to notions of control (Dale and Burrel, 2008), and it is considered as a processes to help furnish the ‘Street of Harmony’ with particular characteristics in order to make the place identifiable in both its tangible and intangible elements. Attention was focused on how frames are continually changing around cultural heritage, as the place

became a WHS in 2008. The frames involve the process of selection and offer a personal perspective on the place, and at the same time a collective perspective. The frames are also based on different motivations, interests, and preferences of the authorised group of people. Framing represents a form of extractions of stories, determines which elements to be included or excluded, and ranges elements from high importance to less importance. Throughout this sub-chapter, it was argued that framing is not a one-directional process but has a variety of competing discourses, most of which contribute to understanding the relationship between George Town WHS and its local communities.

In this study, I have looked at various forms of power at the site, in which some are stronger than the other. When both framing and power are at play, it produced identity, interest, experience, and satisfies needs, among others. Here, it is in line with Foucault's (Foucault, 1975) idea that power can be productive. The establishment of the notion of the 'Street of Harmony' is indeed a construction of national and cultural identity, as well as an exercise of power. From the study, I found that the real power in any city is the development and investment on the local communities. The way in which power is mediated in the 'Street of Harmony' alludes to the usage of the built environment that is also directly connected to the intangible heritage.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

7.0 Introduction

In the preceding Chapter 5 and Chapter 6, four interrelated themes have been presented. This chapter will draw conclusions from the overall research findings in this study. It begins with a review of the purpose and structure of the study, which includes the aim, the objectives, and the elucidation of the theoretical framework. Subsequent discussions include a research evaluation of the theoretical contribution of this study, implications for practice and implications for research. The final remarks are then presented.

The main aim of this study was to understand the relationships between the World Heritage designation of George Town and its local communities. The three interrelated research objectives are revisited and presented here:

1. To examine the way intangible heritage values exist in George Town WHS and their relationship with the tangible heritage values.
2. To understand the nature of the local communities in George Town WHS and the way they are attached to the cultural heritage.
3. To explore the spatial variations of George Town WHS with its urban, postcolonial and multicultural context.

The research considers the dynamic nature of heritage and the city through the lens of space and place. The review of literatures (as discussed in Chapter 2) has brought out several important aspects that shaped the design of the study, in particular, the notion of

space and place, the embodiment of site, sense of place, the representation of the identity of the place and also the power relations. The literature has helped in providing the focus of the research, identifying the knowledge gaps, and formulating the research methodology and methods, as well as the theoretical framework of the study.

7.1 The Research Evaluation: Theoretical Contribution of the Thesis

This section discusses the theoretical contributions that this thesis has made to the body of knowledge in terms of understanding the relationships between the WH designation of George Town and its local communities. The theory emerging from this study is an indication of the achievement of the study's main aim, and the knowledge acquired contributes to the growing body of literatures on cultural heritage management, cultural heritage values, postcolonial studies and the sense of place. Three particular theoretical contributions are discussed in the following sections, which are all associated with power relations.

7.1.1 The relationship between tangible and intangible heritage values

The relationship between tangible and intangible heritage values is demonstrated through the sense of place, involved with the representation of identity, and is very much dependent on the way frames are used to express power and contribute to the decision-making process. This research examines the way the tangible heritage and the intangible heritage are related to the construction of space and place at the 'Street of Harmony', which is part of a WHS with an urban, postcolonial, and multicultural context. Considering the complexity of the site, I analyse the site by breaking it down into the important components, which involves the tangible and intangible heritage. I

argue that the site cannot be seen as a simplistic space where the WH exists. The study analyses complex layers, including not only the street itself, but also the spaces in-between, and even the humblest place such as a home – which is just as important, but seldom highlighted in research.

The study addressed the gap in the literature on the isolated descriptions and limited details of how cultural heritage elements correlate. There is a relationship between the tangible and intangible heritage as stated by previous researchers (Bouchenaki, 2003; Ito, 2003; Munjeri, 2004; Kenny, 2009; Smith and Akagawa, 2009; Harrison and Rose, 2010; Rudolff, 2010; Swensen *et al.*, 2013; Taha, 2014b). The manifestation between the two cultural heritage elements has also been demonstrated by the way they are bound and tangle together, as neither the intangible nor the tangible heritage can ever work alone: both are important. The message is clear: whenever people talk about intangible heritage, there will be a physical manifestation to it. Reciprocally, whenever people talk about the tangible heritage (for example a place of worship), they will also talk about the intangible heritage (for example the history of place, narratives and personal experience). Cultural activities such as the Chingay parade need a physical manifestation – a place to attach to – in this case the 'Street of Harmony'. Even though the place might change in the future, the performance can never be presented without something physical. This is in line with the ideas of Carman (2009) and Harrison and Rose (2010), on the mutual dependency of both heritage elements. It is obvious that the distinction between the tangible and intangible heritage term is unnecessary (Swensen *et al.*, 2013).

There is also an increasingly vociferous call for acknowledgement of the interdependencies between the tangible heritage and intangible heritage values. The acknowledgement is in line with the idea that the tangible and intangible heritage are said to have a symbiotic relationship (Bouchenaki, 2003). It implies that one of the elements could be more dominant in the relationship, or they might be of equal importance, but they depend on each other to survive. For instance, unsuitable change of use and function of a building could have a negative impact on the intangible aspects of heritage. Here the study refers to OUV criterion (iv) on George Town as reflecting *'*a mixture of influences which have created a unique architecture, culture and townscape without parallel anywhere in East and South Asia' (UNESCO, 2008a). The site still showcases shophouses and townhouses of different characters and influences; however, many of them have changed in terms of function. The internal spaces of such properties have changed to a café or boutique hotel for example, and in most cases, the upper level no longer functions as a residence. These changes are partly due to the development of the site as a tourist destination, after designation as a WHS in 2008.

The value of the shophouses and townhouses relies on both tangible and intangible elements. The authenticity of the materials and the construction methods used, the usage and function of the building, as well as the architectural form and the architectural style constitute the tangible heritage. Yet, the intangible aspects – its history, traditional trades operating in it and the memories of the user – are also valuable. It is important to note that if a traditional trade is relocated from its original setting, for example a shophouse, the trade may continue to be practised in a new location, but the relationship of a traditional trade with the context, history, people and the community has been

disrupted. Taha's (2014b) and Harrison and Rose's (2010) findings that the relationship between tangible and intangible heritage values is interconnected and intertwined rings true in the analysis of the case of the 'Street of Harmony'.

Due to the changing nature of the site and the growth of the city, the relationship between the tangible and intangible heritage value is seen as dynamic (Kenny, 2009). The state of flux due to changes at the site has positive or negative effects on the relationship. For example, after obtaining the WHS status, the city has been visited by a large number of tourists and the price of properties increased. The positive effect is that the state's tourism industry became one of the main income generators for Penang. However, the negative effect is that many residents moved out from the inner city, as they cannot afford to pay a higher rental fee and feel disturbed over the fast changes of the city. Rapid development in and around George Town WHS has changed it to become a fragile site, leaving its tangible and intangible heritage values prone to potential harm. Therefore, the study also calls for a more integrated approach in dealing with cultural heritage, as suggested by Harrison and Rose (2010).

When discussing the relationship between the tangible and intangible heritage values, it is also vital to highlight the factors that could influence the continuity or disruption of both. The continuity of the relationship depends on how both elements of the heritage are being managed. Partly, the relationship depends on the commitment, motivation, vision and interest of authorised groups in managing and implementing the policy with regard to cultural heritage. As a WHS, the site is deemed as having three OUVs, which are protected under the 1972 Convention. The OUVs of the site do explain the

intangible heritage, but the Operational Guidelines concentrate on the tangible heritage and are based on a judgement that is grounded in European culture. This study also found that the World Heritage office in George Town WHS is still learning how to protect the intangible heritage. Some attempts have been made, for example by making inventories of the intangible heritage, and finding ways to increase the residential population at the site. The disruption of the relationship between tangible and intangible heritage values can happen when one of the cultural heritage elements is not protected, disturbed, unappreciated, or lost.

The relationship also depends on the way cultural heritage values are understood, not only at the global level but at the local level as well. Within the context of the 'Street of Harmony', the way of life of the multicultural communities can in no way be deemed universal, as the practices, traditions and celebrations are defined by local understandings. Moreover, it is strongly emphasised that to the local communities, the intangible heritage (memories, festivals, rituals, narratives and sensory experiences) provide richer meanings and connections with the place, as compared to the tangible heritage. Local communities discussed intangible heritage values in the 'Street of Harmony', for example, the practices, rituals, and daily activities, which are not necessarily of 'outstanding', 'authorised' and 'universal' values. They also made few references to the tangible heritage. The place was ascribed universal values, which are different from the values ascribed by people living there. This means that to the local communities, some of the values of the 'Street of Harmony' are disconnected from the grand narratives of the OUV criteria as described by UNESCO.

In this study, I argue that there is no reason why a country should put forward a nomination to become a WH when in reality, the heritage comes from the community itself. George Town's path towards listing as a WHS was initiated in 1997 by PHT, which is championing a bottom-up and community-driven approach in the heritage conservation field. However, in the desire for the site to suit the specific framework and standards set in defining OUV, the State Party followed the judgement of heritage values by UNESCO which is framed by the experts' perspectives. The irony is, while UNESCO shows increasing awareness of the importance of the intangible heritage and participation of communities in the WHS, many countries including developing and underdeveloped nations are still pursuing recognition as a WHS – which employs the top-down approach and Eurocentric AHD in valuing heritage (Smith, 2006).

I argue that the linking of universal and local values is crucial to building partnerships in the management of a WHS. This is in line with the idea that all values, including local values, are to be understood, respected and considered when managing a WH site (Merode, Smeets and Westrik, 2004). The attempts of Think City to empower community participation in projects within the WHS are appreciated and have received positive feedback from the local communities. The projects have encouraged the local communities to be more involved, take pride in their heritage and increase their understanding of taking care of the cultural heritage. For an existing WHS like George Town, the consideration of local values can deepen and enrich the OUVs (Brown and Hay-Edie, 2014).

The frame of reference towards local values brings focus on the vital component of the site, which is the local community. I revealed that community is a difficult concept. UNESCO does not define the type of community that they are referring to in the Conventions, and leave the interpretation to the State Party. In a multicultural and postcolonial setting, each community tried to represent their identity, resulting in frequent conflicts in these non-homogeneous communities, and this is not taken into consideration by UNESCO. The 2003 Convention promotes community involvement in safeguarding the intangible heritage; however, at the present time the active role of the local communities at the 'Street of Harmony' still needs to be facilitated by third parties, for example, Think City and Arts-Ed. The increasing participation by the local communities, though not up to the highest level, has paved the way for future inclusion. Likewise, the commitment of the public and the civil society has influenced how space and place are being used, claiming ownership over their place, and by using social media to communicate to a wider audience.

I also argue that even though the community has increasingly become a focus of UNESCO's conventions and policies, however, UNESCO has yet to deal with what happens on the ground of the WHS. When local values were found to be different from the universal values, it created problems and tensions in the management of the site. I argue that this study is an implied critique and a real wake-up call for UNESCO, who has upheld the superiority of the expert's view in determining cultural heritage values. Experts cannot make, produce and tell us what heritage is, this proclamation should come from the local communities themselves. The difference in determination of values is due to the minimal involvement of the local community during the inscription

process. More communication and engagement with the local communities in this process should be initiated at earlier stages of the preparation of the nomination dossier. At the 'Street of Harmony', the multicultural and postcolonial aspects contributed significantly to how the local communities value the site. I also argue, while I tried to understand about the local communities, the communities themselves do not even know what is happening at the other side of their place. This shows that the 'Street of Harmony' which is known as harmony, is not as harmonious as people would like to think.

George Town WHS adopted UNESCO's 2011 Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape (HUL) in the management of the site. The aim was to adopt a systematic approach to heritage management, and have the vision to make the site more inclusive and integrated. However, the HUL does not look at the dynamics of the city that I have tried to capture in this study. Critical to the HUL approach is embracing the values of the tangible and intangible heritage, as well as taking care of its components. The application of HUL in George Town WHS is insufficient when the management procedures do not encompass the intangible heritage, and this has made it impossible to achieve optimum site management. Another aspect of inclusive management requires the acknowledgement of all values, including the values ascribed by local communities. Local values may not be seen as outstanding, but they are of great importance to the local communities. It is also challenging to apply HUL when the number of residents in George Town is decreasing every year, thus affecting the liveliness of activities and the values of the cultural heritage.

I also argue that the relationship depends to how the concept of OUV is understood at the local level. The relationship depends on awareness of the importance of the tangible heritage and the intangible heritage by the local community. Despite the growing awareness of the importance of conserving the site, and contrary to the official stance of the state government on conserving the cultural heritage, different things are happening on the ground. The site is suffering from illegal renovations, loss of traditional trades, change of use, and non-compliance with conservation guidelines – due to the non-comprehensive and non-integrated conservation plan. This is exacerbated by the soft approach in enforcement by the Heritage Department of the MBPP, which according to heritage activists could result in more buildings being demolished, eventually affecting the OUVs of the site. The illegal renovations, for example, were caused by the greediness, lack of knowledge of the rules and guidelines of building conservation, and existence of different sets of values about buildings and place. Therefore, both the expert and non-expert efforts are essential in ensuring the continuity of the relationship between the tangible and the intangible heritage values.

The cultural heritage values depend on the framing imposed by the stakeholders, and it is not a one-direction process but has a variety of competing discourses. For instance, there is concern related to the vision of George Town WHS, which is not taking sufficient care of the cultural heritage but having too much focus on tourism. While the OUV of George Town WHS have become a valuable asset in promoting the tourism industry in Penang, the WH status has created an imbalance between heritage and tourism. There are also other significant issues of the carrying capacity of the site, its promotion, the interpretation of the site by local guides and the narratives on street

artworks at public spaces. George Town was already known internationally for its former free trade port status with a rich heritage and culture, long before it became a WHS. Even with the WHS branding, the local communities continue with their everyday life as normal. The WHS brand does provide benefits, for example in terms of increased numbers of tourists; even though, there could be more efforts by the state government in deciding the vision for George Town WHS.

There are also residual heritage elements at the 'Street of Harmony' that the authorised group does not value and feel unimportant, but are locally treasured. Additionally, there are significant differences in the level of heritage values at the site, from the grand architecture of places of worship to a more humble architecture, for example, shophouses that relate closely to the livelihood of the place. It is a criticism that many heritage activities take place in George Town – being performed and acted – but are not being looked at or captured to any great extent. This is because the type of heritage framed by the city differs and the existence of such a gap between local and official values is of concern to any heritage site including George Town.

Framing can be a mechanism of control for the authorised groups or those in the position of power (Dale and Burrel, 2008). The World Heritage office in George Town is having difficulties in managing the intangible heritage, as the SAP gazetted on the 1st of September 2016 has no detailed guidelines on safeguarding the intangible heritage. I argue that the lack of inclusion of intangible heritage in the SAP indicates that the state government placed a low value on the intangibles. I would like to refer to a short video, in which it was reported that the GTWHI believes 'education rather than regulation is

the way forward' (Al Jazeera, 2016). This statement has raised another concern on how far such an approach could help to solve the problem of losing residents, gentrifications and rising rents in the WHS. The above example is also in line with the idea of Dale and Burrell (2008) that power can become a factor in determining the inclusion and exclusion of cultural heritage, and specifically in this case, the distinction of importance between the tangible and the intangible heritage. The absence of control in the management of the site could disrupt the relationship between the tangible and the intangible heritage values.

The study has demonstrated the relationship between the tangible and intangible heritage values – from understanding the critical component in the ongoing negotiation of place, attachment to place, representation of identity, and the power relations involved. All this helps in understanding the relationship between the tangible heritage and intangible heritage values.

7.1.2 Sense of place in a WHS

While a large number of studies have been conducted elsewhere on the sense of place, they have seldom considered the sense of place in relation to multicultural and postcolonial societies and how it affects the cultural heritage. This study makes a contribution to knowledge by demonstrating how the cultural heritage provide meanings and values to the local communities at the 'Street of Harmony' through the sense of place. A heterogeneous sample of interviews carried out within and across various backgrounds has provided comprehensive and competing meanings and values of place in the context of the study.

Chapter 5 has examined, within the interviews and observations made during the fieldwork, the way in which sense of place is determined by the local communities. To the local communities, both the tangible and the intangible heritage provide a sense of place, which develops from their response to the attachments, ownership, stewardship and belonging to the place. By focusing on the various attributes of the sense of place at a multicultural and postcolonial site, it was found that different people have different associations with the place. This is in resonance with the idea that 'sense of place is individual, personal, intimate, simple yet extremely complex' (Mcclinchey, 2016: 8).

Various types of place attachment have been highlighted, mainly referring to the sensory experience and its historical and narrative attachment. Interviewees relate historical attachment to their experience, life events and time spent at the place; narrative attachment relates to the place naming, stories told by past generations and family history. The sensory experience develops over time, and the meanings shift when people have understood the place better. Ethnic groups like Indians and Chinese retain their relationship with their country of origin, even though the connection is less strong than before. The findings relate to Cross's (2015) idea of place attachment as an interactional process in which people create meaning and give value to the place. However, her study did not provide information on the type of ethnicity used as the sample of the study. At the 'Street of Harmony', it is obvious that all ethnic groups are attached to their places of worship, which also provide strong evidence of their identity. Therefore, the study extends the knowledge of the place attachment for multicultural communities.

I argue that the tangible and intangible heritage associated with British colonisation are not as significant to the local communities. For example, during the British colonial period, the Star Pitt Street building housed the Opium and Spirit Farm Offices, which dealt with narcotics and gambling activities. The business generated a tremendous amount of income for the Straits Settlements; however, the surrounding area was unsafe, with activities including robbery and Chinese secret societies. During interview session, only one of the interviewees mentioned the history and the existence of the building. The attitude represents a forgotten history and rejection of the colonial past, both in the form of the tangible and intangible heritage, which may be related to the uncomfortable truth about the place. The attitude too, is a direct critique of the top-down UNESCO system, where the OUV criteria for George Town WHS that are related to the British colonial past differ from the values held by the local communities. Ironically, today, even though the building has been appropriated to become a centre of the Penang Story, which promotes culture, arts and heritage in Penang, the history about the building is almost non-existent to the local communities.

I have revealed that ownership of the cultural heritage becomes a concern at various levels, from the international community down to local level. At the local level, people who claim heritage are those who live at the place and are part of the communities. Ownership helps to strengthen the relationship between tangible and intangible heritage values; it increases responsibility for the site, as people are willing to make personal sacrifices, invest in the place and provide power and control. Ownership of a place in a multicultural community, involves people claiming their existence by feeling secure in occupying the street, dominating business activities, the street name, and promoting

their identity. The findings echo those of Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996: 21) who state that 'all heritage is someone's heritage and therefore logically not someone else's', which means heritage belongs to someone and concerns ownership. However, I contend that to claim the ownership of heritage, there needs to be a firm understanding of the relationship between the tangible and intangible heritage values from the local, national and international level.

Additionally, ownership goes beyond the physical possession of an object. It extends to administrative, social, political, religious and economic issues. For instance, part of the site is under the Islamic waqf system, in which the properties are dedicated to the welfare of the Muslims in need. The waqf system, which has been established during the British colonial period, has provided many advantages in terms of economy, identity, and social aspects to the Muslims, to the point that the existence of Muslim communities at the site is guaranteed as compared to other communities in the urban area of George Town. However, the way the properties are managed needs further improvement to enhance the sustainability of the site.

The sense of place relates to the issue of authenticity, which gives impact to the tangible and the intangible elements described in the three OUVs. For OUV criterion (iii), which relates to the 'living testimony to the multi-cultural heritage and tradition of Asia, and European colonial influences' (UNESCO, 2008b), it was found that the 'Street of Harmony' is still an epitome of a multicultural trading town, with the influence of past colonial power. The narrative of this criterion, however, depends on the existence and the sustainability of cultures of the different ethnic groups. There is fear for the

sustainability of the Malay communities at the 'Street of Harmony'. The 'Malay town' centred around the Acheen Street Malay Mosque, which was once indicated on the 1798 Popham map has nearly disappeared, as the Malay population has decreased significantly over the years. The Malays along with other major ethnic groups were one of the attributes of the OUV, and it is difficult for the OUV to be protected if the Malay population ceases to exist in George Town.

Habitus is also important in the discussion of sense of place and multiculturalism. There is an ethnicity dialectic at the 'Street of Harmony' that affects the way people attached themselves to the site. The habitus of a Malay is comprised of two elements – of being a Muslim and Malay ethnicity. Generally in Malaysia, Islam is associated with Malay, not Indian or Chinese communities. Due to the politicised nature of ethnic identities, the Malays, Indian and Arab origin Muslims fight for superiority and are divided. It was found that the Malays at the 'Street of Harmony' feel that they are being side lined as compared to the Indian Muslim community, due to weak management of waqf properties, and political differences and interference. Malays are very protective over their 'bumiputera' status and special rights in the country. I argue that the waqf institution has a huge responsibility and could exercise power in maintaining the identity and sustainability of the Muslim communities in George Town. It relates to the social, economic, political, spiritual, and legal aspects of the place. However, the sustainability cannot be guaranteed if the number of local communities continually reduce year by year.

I also argue that Bourdieu's (1990) concept of habitus has much to offer to understand the sense of place, as it reveals how the local communities are involved in making value judgements on the site. In particular, habitus directs their way of thinking, which is influenced mainly by their experience, memories, upbringing, and ethnicity. This phenomenon is clear at the 'Street of Harmony', even though two interviewees share the same social background such as coming from the same ethnic group, having been raised in a shophouse, and their fathers involved with traditional trades, they do not have similar habitus. This is because every 'social trajectory' is unique and different (Bourdieu, 1996: 259). The two interviewees do not share the same perceptions of the value of tangible and intangible elements at the 'Street of Harmony'. One feels that the traditional trade is very important in his life, as the business was inherited from his father (which he values for his sense of identity and his career), while another interviewee takes a different position. His experience and the exposure he received while growing up leads him to decide that the business is not part of his life and he lets his brother take over; he becomes actively involved with several heritage interest groups and heritage projects.

Furthermore, habitus also relates to the 'spatial practice' of the people, and the 'representation of space' by the expert and authorised group (Lefebvre, 1991). For example, a jewellery shop owner's habitus had granted him the practical consciousness of doing business as a way of life. In the interview, he offered handed-down stories, memories of the past about the business and life. He had considerable knowledge about the state's political situation and the changes in that area, and it was through this frame that he presented the story as a symbol of 'domination of space', 'mismanagement of

waqf properties', and the 'decreasing identity of the gold bazaar'. Regarding the representation of space, the expert's habitus will determine the way he or she reacts when there is an issue concerning the site, such as unapproved renovation or loss of traditional trades.

The sense of place constructed by the local communities is in response to the numerous ways they interact with the physical and the non-physical elements at the site. This means that the people element – the local communities – are important components in this context of study, a site with a multicultural and postcolonial context. However, based on the baseline study carried out, between the year 2009 to 2013, 800 people have moved out from George Town (Geografia, 2014). As I draw upon the OUV criterion (ii), which relates to the 'exceptional examples of multi-cultural trading towns in East and Southeast Asia' (UNESCO, 2008b), George Town WHS is actually suffering from the loss of residential population in the inner city, due to the rapid development going on inside and outside the site. Once a trading port, today after more than 230 years, Penang has become a high-tech manufacturing state and a popular tourist destination. George Town WHS has been affected by the development changes and I argue that if the multicultural residential population continues to decrease, the possibility of losing the sense of place and the WHS status is high, as it threatens the major attributes carrying the OUV criteria – the community, the intangible heritage, and the aspects of multiculturalism.

I contend that the local communities' vitality and pride in their own identity are two important factors in strengthening their sense of place. For instance, the Indian Muslim

community, both young and old, are very concerned about their history and heritage. Even though the number of businesses run by them in the area has fallen, including old trades like a jewellery business, foreign exchange business and textile selling, they are still the dominant ethnic group at the site. The study also suggests that the more individuals identify with a place, the more the area is maintained by the community. The strength of the civil society and Penangites is self-evident and driven by their strong sense of place.

The findings of this study also indicate that the participation and the empowerment of local communities could provide long-term stewardship of a place. When the local communities engage with the site and participate in the place-based activities, an inclusive (bottom-up) approach to heritage is therefore developed. Even though there is no guarantee whether place-based activities will be continually practised in the daily life of the community, it is hoped that they will add meaning to the site. This study supports the idea of framing as a form of power, which can be productive (Foucault, 1975), and when at play can produce identity, interest, experience and satisfy needs. The bottom-up approach in determining heritage values is productive in creating platforms for carrying out cultural activities, reinforcing their identity, and strengthening the relationship between the cultural heritage and the local communities.

7.1.3 Hybridity of space

The third contribution to knowledge is on the hybridity of space. I argue that this line of thought sheds light on the representation of identity at the 'Street of Harmony'. The site like many WHS is complex and dynamic, with its postcolonial and multicultural context. Hybridity takes place in many forms at the 'Street of Harmony', and in Chapter 6, I have used the concept of thirdspace and hybridity, and their rich framework in explaining the spatial engagement with every aspect of the site. Hybridity is used to explain the new identity that developed from the interweaving of elements of the colonised and the colonisers, and it is also an 'interruptive, interrogative, and enunciative' space (Bhabha, 1994b: 103).

I have analysed the site at macro and micro level, and the thirdspace reveals the need to view the city from the viewpoint of both experts and users. It echoes Soja's (1996) idea on the recognition of the importance of viewing and analysing place from multiple perspectives. According to Soja (1996, 2010) microgeography concentrates on the spatial analysis of the everyday life of the communities, and as the city is complex, it is worth looking into small details of the place that people might overlook. My study has recognised all voices of local communities with different perspectives and representations. Operating as thirdspace, the voices of everyone are heard at the 'Street of Harmony', including the views of those feeling marginalised. Accepting the need for the inclusion of voices from the users of the site, specifically the local communities, the study criticises the AHD exercised by UNESCO (Smith, 2006) in determining the values of the site. It is important that heritage values are deliberated and identified in a

fair and equitable way. This will recognise the voice of the community and ensure better management of the site.

In Chapter 2 and 6, the study also looks to thirdspace as a 'space that we will find those words with which we can speak of Ourselves and Others' (Bhabha, 1994b: 157) and to Bhabha, it is the potential location to explain the hybridity of place and the relationship between the colonised and the coloniser. Even though Bhabha's idea of thirdspace has touched on the importance of history in explaining a new form of culture, which is a result of colonialism, he did not go into detail on the definition of the 'Others', except that they are of the colonised group. This study extends the conception of hybridity, demonstrating how the spaces at the 'Street of Harmony' are contested, dominated and negotiated with the various ethnic groups of the 'Other'. The idea posited is to look at the 'Other' as not only one group, but the components of the multicultural society – the Indian, Malay and Chinese predominantly – along with other minority sub-ethnic groups. It is impossible to ignore the multilayers of history, complexities and differences of the communities that have existed for more than 230 years, as the identity of the communities relates to their pride and honour in where they come from, and this also requires a sense of history.

I also argue that in thirdspace, the way multiculturalism works in Malaysia involves the play of power relations between the government and the public. As a multicultural country, the differences in cultural and religious practices are important and act as a catalyst, promoting coexistence as well as improving interethnic and inter-religious relations. In Malaysia, the way diversity is managed is unique from other multicultural

countries. The Malays are guaranteed special rights in the Federal Constitution of Malaysia, as the original inhabitants of the country. The use of Bahasa Malaysia as the official language and Islam as the official religion of the country provide supremacy for the Malay-Muslim identity and in terms of political, social, economic and educational aspects. At the 'Street of Harmony', there are endless negotiations and contestation between the different ethnic groups, in maintaining their identities and positions. For instance, the Malays and the Indian Muslims are competing with the Chinese's entrepreneurial attitude and economic strength, even though the endowment (waqf) system provides advantage to them in terms of economic opportunities and residential guarantee. Political powers are often used to manage the tension. Initiative of having shared values at the site became an important forum where the cultural, religious and ethnic differences can be celebrated. It was also found that having shared values could create a higher sense of belonging and help manage the tension between the different ethnic groups at the site. The initiatives involve power relations at different levels, which include the national agenda on multiculturalism and also ideas from heritage advocates.

The study has also cast light on the importance of thirdspace to understand the representation of identity, which relates to the interaction between the different ethnic groups. Further, with its multicultural and postcolonial context, the argument on whose heritage is to be represented is inevitable at the 'Street of Harmony'. The 'dissonant heritage' as coined by Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996) provides broad possibilities in the representation of identity, and control of power; it suggests options to overcome the domination of certain ethnic groups in the area, and control over space and place.

Various ethnic groups – the Malays, Indian Muslims, Indian Hindu and Chinese are living side by side while practising their traditions, religions and customs. Festivals with processions and stage performances are still taking place, even though some have disappeared over time, due to lack of expertise and knowledge. Moreover, it is interesting to note that many festivals and rituals are carried out with consideration of the religious and cultural sensitivities of other ethnic groups, which can be exemplified by not serving beef to the crowd during Eid celebration, as a way of respecting the Hindus. It is this set of manners of unspoken understandings– by being respectful and tolerant – that has constituted the habitus (Bourdieu, 1990) of the people for over 230 years. All the distinct places of worship at the 'Street of Harmony' are also still functioning, which become important symbols of the coexistence of different ethnic or religious groups.

I have confirmed that the 'Street of Harmony' is also not as harmonious as promoted by the state government, some heritage advocates and the tourism industry. In reality, the local communities are self-contained, rarely interact on a daily basis, are aware of each other's existence, but have little understanding of the meanings behind each other's religions and beliefs. The study also highlights that there are attempts to integrate the communities by third parties, which act as facilitators for collaborative projects with the major communities at the 'Street of Harmony'; however, more initiatives are needed in the near future.

It is also found that place identity in a multicultural and postcolonial context is an ongoing negotiation and extended beyond colonialism. This is due to the dynamic

nature of the place, with the migration of people from the rural to the urban areas, and the incoming labour up until today. The colonised are not a homogeneous group; they are of different ethnic groups – each having a different culture and relationship to their country of origin. Therefore, it is vital to consider the complexity and sensitivity of the culture of each ethnic group and the changing nature of culture in the representation of place identity. Additionally, the tangible and the intangible heritage are valuable as tools to be used in the quest for identity, be it as an ethnic group, or even a shared collective national identity. In the light of this, it is important to note that each ethnic group takes pride in their cultural heritage, especially the intangible aspects, for example, the memories, language, festivals, rituals and practices and relate them to their places of worship. Indeed, the historical and intangible heritage are important in the representation of the identity of a place.

I have also provided examples of how the 'Street of Harmony' becomes a space of performance through the everyday life of the people, which includes practices and involves various activities and actions by the countless users of the street. In observing the performances, I found that the intangible heritage of the communities is performed not only inside the buildings but also spills out into the public spaces, onto the street itself. All ethnic and religious groups have their own way of utilising and negotiating the space to perform their rituals and celebrate the festivals, and it was found that the majority of the members of the communities are still respectful and tolerant towards the religious and cultural sensitivities of other groups. The movement of the performers has appropriated the space by using tactics to demonstrate their control and power, by adjusting their body to give way for the worshippers to perform rituals. This supports de

Certeau's (1984) discussion of everyday tactics, on the act of walking in taking possession of the site and how walkers transform space.

The study has also addressed the domination and contested nature of hybridity and thirdspace, by taking note of the changing nature of the place. The domination of space happens as the result of political and economic factors and attempts in promoting a group's own identity. The after-effect of being a WHS is mass tourism, and the domination of space due to economic factors is common to a place within an urban context such as George Town. After the site was listed as a WHS in 2008, there was a high increase in the rental price of the properties. Within this context, the competition on domination of space is seen to happen between the major ethnic groups. It is found that a strong kinship between members of the same ethnic group is important in dominating the space, even though they are from different sub-groups and use different dialects, as they work together to achieve their economic mission.

It was also found that the thirdspace is a space of multiple narratives and language. The narratives are told with artwork, interpretation panels and stories by tour guides – providing a new perspective on the value of the site and contributing to the identity of the street. However, the ways the narratives are selected, translated and framed are very much based on interests and power relations too. The study has brought out the fact that the narratives are more focused on the historical, religious and cultural aspects of the site.

Soja (1996) argued that thirdspace relates to the three interrelated modes of 'firstspace' or material space, 'secondspace' or imagined space and 'thirdspace' or space that involves both material and symbolic dimensions. To Soja, the historicality and sociality aspects of the space need to be understood by using thirdspace. Soja, however, has not considered the category of space of this study – that is the WHS. His work refers to the postmodern cities of Los Angeles and Amsterdam. Previous researchers also argue that Soja is being vague about his theory of thirdspace and its relation to real daily life practices (Merrifield, 1999; Li and Zhou, 2018). I also argue that at the 'Street of Harmony', Soja's thirdspace goes beyond the spatiality, historicality, and sociality aspects. It has been demonstrated in previous chapters that in addition to these three aspects, other forces impinge on space. Political, tourist, religious, community, policy and economic framing have affected the way the tangible heritage relates to the intangible heritage values, as well as the representation of the identity of the site.

7.2 Implication for Practice

This section identifies several implications for practice arising from the findings of this study, which are relevant to managers of heritage sites, urban planners, architects, local authorities, as well as the cultural workers of WHS, not just in the context of George Town WHS but beyond.

7.2.1 Managers of a heritage site should find ways to increase the level of involvement of the local communities in heritage-related events and projects

While there is evidence of the inclusion of the local communities in heritage-related events and projects at the site, there is a need to increase their level of involvement.

From the study, the involvement should not be as a one-off project, for instance only being practised during the WH celebrations, which promote and showcase cultural practices such as cooking traditional food, dances, wearing traditional costumes and playing traditional music. These cultural practices should go beyond annual festivals and celebration and into daily life.

The local communities should be given opportunities to express their opinions in the decision-making processes, as they are the primary users of the site. For example, based on the study, there was no meeting involving the local communities at the end of the back lanes project. Thus, there is no indication that the project's outcome was examined, particularly on how future planning could be improved by input from the local communities. It was also found that in certain heritage conservation projects, the initial ideas and designs were already in place, before the local communities were called in for discussion. Given this situation, the input from the local communities, though taken into consideration by the project team, will not have the desired impacts in comparison to situations where inputs from the local communities are heard and weighed before the design stage starts. The local communities should understand that the benefits that they get through their involvement in heritage-related events and projects go beyond just economic benefits.

Social media, for example, Facebook, could also provide excellent opportunities to stimulate conversations about heritage and conservation among the local communities. Some examples include the pages of Think City (https://www.facebook.com/mythinkcity/), George Town World Heritage Action

(https://www.facebook.com/groups/421005391414271/), Arts-Ed Penang (https://www.facebook.com/artsedpenang/), and George Town World Heritage Incorporated (https://www.facebook.com/gtwhi/). These pages have thousands of followers who are actively giving feedback, making announcements, updating activities, calling for volunteers, and reporting on what is happening in and around the heritage site.

7.2.2 There is a need to integrate the management of tangible and intangible heritage assets

Both the tangible and the intangible heritage are important and interdependent. However, the future of the intangible heritage is not promising if there are no comprehensive and integrated plans to safeguard it, coupled with the unclear vision of the site from the World Heritage office. Intangible heritage, for example, the traditional trades, is the element that provides the liveliness of the city, and therefore, the protection must be of the same importance as that of the tangible heritage. Having said that, there is an urgent need to have an integrated conservation management plan to allow the related authorities, particularly the local council and the World Heritage office, to monitor and ensure that the management of the heritage site is implemented at the most effective level, by taking care of both the tangible and the intangible heritage values. To do this, the importance of the intangible heritage must first be understood at all levels. Furthermore, there is a need to re-examine the policies related to the current heritage management and ways of adapting the intangible heritage.

7.2.3 There is a need to find a balance between heritage conservation and tourism industry

There is an increasing worry from cultural practitioners and heritage experts on the growth of tourism at the WHS. Mass tourism is an outcome of the place having been raised to an international profile by becoming a WHS, where the branding has opened doors for tourism activities and commercialisation. However, there is a need for balance in the development of tourism in the state. The study found that tourists do not spend much of their money on what is offered on the site, and their activities mainly consist of taking photographs and buying fridge magnets at the trinket shops. The tourism industry players should aim for more sustainable income from the tourists, for example by marketing crafts from traditional trades and doing homestay programmes. Heritage sites must not compromise their assets due to uncontrolled tourism, which could lead to the loss of their heritage and identity.

7.2.4 Heritage sites of multicultural and postcolonial context specifically, should emphasise all the important narratives of the site, without alienating any identities

Including a broader understanding of what are the important heritage components at a site of multicultural and postcolonial context could be an excellent way to represent the identity of the site. This will involve the issue of inclusion and exclusion, the majority and the minority, negotiation, and contestation of identity. It would be challenging with a site of various ethnic groups and sub-ethnic groups, which have different languages, customs and practices. Presenting the site as one of the shared narratives and establishing the links between the past and the present of how the various ethnic groups relate to each other may be fruitful in the representation of identity. A heritage site

should also embrace a more extensive understanding of the values of the cultural heritage, and move beyond the official narratives to allow the local communities to understand and promote the local values and interpret their identities better.

7.2.5 There is a need to safeguard the sense of place at WHS

Heritage site managers need to find a suitable approach to safeguard the sense of place, as this consists of the tangible and intangible aspects of heritage. For a site of multicultural and postcolonial context, the sense of place is more complex, as the sharing of place by various ethnic groups may come with conflicts and competition. Therefore, the site manager needs to identify the threats to the sense of place. Some interviewees were aware of the risks due to mass tourism and the loss of the residential population, which could change the way people live at the site. Attempts by both the government and the non-government agencies in bringing back the residential population into the heritage site is one example that the site could build on further in making sure that the sense of place is safeguarded.

7.3 Implications for Research

The following identifies some implications for future research based on the findings of this study. Such research would further contribute to the understanding of the relationship between the tangible heritage and the intangible heritage values.

7.3.1 To explore the ways sense of place changes in relation to changes in the intangible heritage

The intangible heritage is continually changing and is very fragile; however, it is important to note that it is the intangible heritage that relates more to the local communities, as compared to the tangible heritage. Therefore, there is a need to study how the sense of place changes over time, in response to the changes taking place within the intangible heritage, and how the local communities adapt to it. Furthermore, it would be interesting to investigate the difference in the sense of place experienced by the first generation, second generation and the third generation of migrants at the site.

7.3.2 To explore the techniques in which the relationship between the tangible heritage and the intangible heritage could be presented visually

From the study, it is acknowledged that the relationship of the tangible heritage and the intangible heritage is complex, and is of a symbiotic nature (Bouchenaki, 2003), and is interconnected (Taha, 2014b). It is therefore important to develop a particular visual presentation technique to overlap with the information obtained from, for example, ethnographers, cultural practitioners, local authorities, architects, and building surveyors, due to the interdisciplinary nature of the study. Currently, many countries have mapped, recorded and produced comprehensive inventories of their tangible heritage, with some also having inventories of the intangible heritage in a variety of formats. However, there are no integrated and updated visual tools as a basis of reference for the site, which respond to the dynamic nature of the place. This visual presentation could help to explain the complexity of the relationship between the tangible and intangible heritage and display current information on cultural heritage

assets, which can be used by all parties involved in the heritage and conservation sector. In this respect, the presentation could prevent the misunderstanding of information on heritage assets, and could be useful in making future decisions.

7.3.3 To explore the ownership of the intangible heritage at a multicultural site

This study found that ownership of the intangible heritage is very hard to determine, compared to the tangible heritage. Furthermore, the ownership of an intangible heritage may not be confined within the border of one state or country (the sharing of a similar cultural performance for example) and may involve bias in assigning the rights to benefit an individual or even a community. Therefore, further research is needed to understand how the clarification of ownership could facilitate plans for intangible heritage management.

7.4 Final Remarks

This chapter has answered the main aim of the study on the understanding of the relationship between the WH designation of George Town and its local communities. The grounded theory methodology has provided an excellent platform for theory formation – offering explanation about the social phenomena. This study has tapped into everyday life, looked at both the tangible heritage and the intangible heritage values at the 'Street of Harmony', revealing that the relationship is complex, related to time and involves a dynamic process. The study has shed light on the relationship in several contexts; firstly with regard to the status of George Town as a WHS with its urban, postcolonial, multicultural context, and then with a specific focus on the 'Street of Harmony'. I have pointed out that there is a mismatch between the values and meanings

of the site in terms of what WH is supposed to be (official values), and what really happens on the ground (local values). The local communities at the WHS have changed and are changing, but this concern is not picked up at UNESCO's level. It is hoped that these findings and the three theoretical contributions on knowledge, namely on the relationship between tangible and intangible heritage values, sense of place in a WHS and hybridity of space could improve the future of the cultural heritage.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1 Interview schedule

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Note: This schedule is intended to provide a broad indication of the structure and contents of the interview. More tailored areas and questions will be formulated following the initial stages of data collection.

Section 1: Demographic data

Name, year of birth, ethnic group, citizenship, language used (first and second), level of education, occupation, place of birth, year of being in contact with George Town.

Section 2: Place and Sense of Place

- How long have you lived/work here?
- Is this place important and special to you? Can you describe how?
- How do you think people would describe this place? Why?
- Can you tell me what makes you feel proud about living here?
- How important is it to feel that you are part of the community?
- Do you participate in any community activities or events? Can you elaborate?
- How would you describe your connection with this place?
- Can other place compares to George Town and Street of Harmony? Why?
- What authority or privilege that you have over the place/ business being the owner?
- How does the use of buildings, streets, public and private urban spaces could provide sense of ownership to you?
- For whom should we take care of cultural heritage? Is it worth to protect this place?
- Who hold the stewardship of this place?
- How authentic is this place to you?
- Does this place reminds you about its history? How?

Section 3: Embodiments

- Could you describe your typical day when you are at this place?

- Do you think that your background or identity for example ethnicity, religion, gender, education level, language used has any influence on how you get to use the space/ building?

Section 4: Framing & Power Relations

- Do you know that this place is part of George Town World Heritage Site (WHS)? If yes, can you elaborate?
- Has any organization been helpful in explaining about the WHS status? How has it been helpful?

Section 5: Postcolonialism and Multicultural Identity

- What do you think on the image of the place?
- What reminds you about colonial heritage?
- Do you really think that the Street of Harmony is a harmonious and multicultural street? Why?
- How do you verify your identity? Who, if anyone, was involved? How were they involved?

Appendix 2 Research Participant Information sheet

Title of the Project: 'Negotiating Identities and 'Sense of Place' in a World Heritage City: the Case of George Town, Penang, Malaysia.'

Research background

The purpose of my research is to understand cultural heritage and what makes George Town a special place to its inhabitants, while looking at how this relationship may influence the survival of heritage assets in the future. This will involve how people use the space, authority over the space, the status of George Town as a World Heritage site, the impact of colonization on the place and its immediate surroundings, as well as its multicultural identity. I will be conducting interviews and observational works with the people who are occupying, managing, constructing, and representing the place. The findings of this study will contribute to a better understanding on how George Town is made meaningful as a place, and can assist in decision-making process for the future development of George Town as World Heritage site.

Your commitment

If you agree to take part in the study, a consent form will be provided to you before the interview starts. Each interview is expected to last for about 40 to 60 minutes and it will be audio recorded. The venue of the interview session is preferably along the 'Street of Harmony' (Jalan Masjid Kapitan Keling), George Town. More details of the interview and what it might involve will be provided to you if you agree to participate.

The information gathered through this study will be used in my doctoral thesis. It may also be included in other academic publications, such as journal articles, book chapters, or as part of a book manuscript.

Confidentiality Issues

The information provided by research participants will be private and confidential; and will only be used for research purposes. Although anonymity cannot be fully guaranteed for some participants, I will write the research in a way that it will not mention any personal characteristics that might disclose your identity. Issues of confidentiality and anonymity will be discussed in detail with research participants before the interview processes.

Primary data (field notes, interview transcripts, and audio recordings) will be stored by me, for the duration of the project, and then preserved for 10 years, consistent with the University of Birmingham policy. You may choose to withdraw, and to have your data withdrawn from the project within two weeks after the interview session. This can be done verbally, or by contacting me at afb536@student.bham.ac.uk.

If you have any further questions, you are very welcome to ask. Thank you for your participation.

Researcher Information

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Appendix 3 Research Participant Consent form

RESEARCH PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

Title of Project : 'Negotiating Identities and 'Sense of Place' in a World Heritage City: the Case of George Town, Penang, Malaysia.'

Name of Researcher : Aidatul Fadzlin Bakri
Institution : Ironbridge International Institute for Cultural Heritage, University of Birmingham, Edgbaston, Birmingham, B15 2TT, United Kingdom.

Please tick all boxes:

1. I confirm that I have read and understood the research participant information sheet. ☐
2. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, to ask questions, and I am satisfied with the answers I have received. ☐
3. I understand the purpose of this study and my involvement in it. ☐
4. I understand that taking part in this study may involve being interviewed, and audio recorded. ☐
5. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw from the study (within two weeks after the interview), without any questions being asked. ☐
6. I understand that the information gathered during the study may be published. ☐
7. I understand that my personal details will not be revealed to people other than the researcher, Aidatul Fadzlin Bakri. ☐
8. I understand that my words may be used in the researcher's doctoral thesis, publications and other relevant research outputs, but that my name and other identifying information will not be included, unless otherwise agreed. ☐
9. I understand that primary data - field notes, interview transcripts, and audio recordings will be stored by the researcher, Aidatul Fadzlin Bakri, for the duration of the project, and then kept for 10 years, consistent with University of Birmingham policy. ☐

Name of Participant :

Date :

Signature :

Appendix 4 Research Information Sheet (in English and Bahasa Malaysia – to be given to public, if required).

RESEARCH INFORMATION SHEET

Title of Project: 'Negotiating Identities and 'Sense of Place' in a World Heritage City: the Case of George Town, Penang, Malaysia.'

Thank you for taking the time to read this Information Sheet. The following information explains what this research project is about.
My name is Aidatul Fadzlin binti Bakri and I am a doctoral researcher at the University of Birmingham, in the United Kingdom. I will be visiting George Town, Penang from September 2016 to April 2017 to undertake research for my thesis.

Research background
The purpose of my research is to understand cultural heritage and what makes George Town a special place to its inhabitants, while looking at how this relationship may influence the survival of heritage assets in the future. This will involve how people use the space, authority over the space, the status of George Town as a World Heritage site, the impact of colonisation on the place and its immediate surroundings, as well as its multicultural identity. I will be conducting walking interviews and observational works with the people who are occupying, managing, constructing, and representing the place. The findings of this study will contribute to a better understanding on how George Town is made meaningful as a place, and can assist in decision-making process for the future development of George Town as World Heritage site.

RINGKASAN MAKLUMAT KAJIAN

Tajuk Kajian: 'Negosiasi mengenai identiti dan 'sense of place' di Bandar Warisan Dunia: kajian di George Town, Pulau Pinang, Malaysia.'

Terima kasih kerana meluangkan masa untuk membaca Ringkasan Maklumat Kajian ini. Maklumat berikut menerangkan mengenai projek penyelidikan saya.
Nama saya ialah Aidatul Fadzlin binti Bakri dan saya merupakan seorang pelajar bagi kursus Doctor of Philosophy (Cultural Heritage) di Universityof Birmingham, United Kingdom. Saya akan melawat George Town, Pulau Pinang dari bulan September 2016 hingga April 2017 untuk menjalankan kajian dan kerja lapangan untuk tesis saya.

Latar belakang kajian
Tujuan kajian saya adalah untuk memahami warisan budaya dan apa yang menjadikan George Town sebuah tempat yang istimewa untuk penduduknya, sambil melihat bagaimana hubungan ini dapat mempengaruhi survival aset warisan pada masa hadapan. Ini akan melibatkan bagaimana ruang digunakan, kuasa yang dikenakan ke atas ruang, status George Town sebagai tapak Warisan Dunia, kesan penjajahan kepada George Town dan kawasan persekitaran, dan juga sebagai identiti pelbagai budaya. Saya akan menjalankan temu bual berbentuk 'walking interview' dan kerja pemerhatian dengan individu yang menggunakan, mengurus, membina, dan mewakili tempat itu. Hasil kajian ini akan menyumbang kepada pemahaman yang lebih baik tentang bagaimana George Town menjadi sebuah tempat yang amat bermakna, dan boleh membantu dalam proses membuat keputusan untuk pembangunan masa depan George Town sebagai salah satu tapak Warisan Dunia.

Appendix 5 List of interviewees

No.	Participant's background	Community group
1	A Penangite who is an active member of Penang Heritage Trust and an occasional tour guide.	Cultural and heritage activist
2	A Penangite who works at the 'Street of Harmony' in the hotel industry.	Worker
3	A Penangite who is a resident of the 'Street of Harmony' and acts as a representative of Kapitan Keling Mosque and Indian Muslim's youth.	Local resident
4	Cultural interpreter who is involved in cultural heritage projects at the 'Street of Harmony' and George Town WHS. Her workplace is near to the 'Street of Harmony'.	Cultural and heritage activist/ practitioner
5	A Penangite who works with Arts-Ed Penang and engaged with communities of the 'Street of Harmony'. Her workplace is near to the 'Street of Harmony'.	Cultural and heritage activist/practitioner, representative of non-profit organisation
6	Resident of the waqf land of Acheen Street Malay Mosque and the representative of Badan Warisan Masjid Melayu Lebuh Acheh (Heritage of Acheh Street Malay Mosque Trust)	Local resident, representative of place of worship
7	A Penangite who runs a traditional coffee shop at the 'Street of Harmony'.	Trader (traditional trade)
8	Architect and building conservator who is involved in various cultural heritage projects in and around the 'Street of Harmony'. His workplace is located near the 'Street of Harmony'.	Cultural and heritage activist/practitioner

9	Former Penang high-ranking politician who spent part of his childhood and career life at the 'Street of Harmony'.		Heritage advocate
10	Owner of a second hand furniture shop at the 'Street of Harmony'.		Trader (traditional trade)
11	Co-owner of a licensed Money Changer who spent his early childhood at Jalan Masjid Kapitan Keling.		Trader (traditional trade)
12	Representative of George Town World Heritage Incorporated (GTWHI) who was born in George Town. He is an active member of PHT.		WH office staff
13	Representative of Think City Sdn. Bhd who works on several projects at the 'Street of Harmony'.		Community-based organisation staff
14	A Penangite officer from the Heritage Department, Penang Island City Council (MBPP) who regularly visits the 'Street of Harmony' since her childhood days.		Local government staff
15	A Penangite who is a volunteer for Facilitator's Training Programme under GTWHI/Arts-ED.		Community-based organisation staff
16	A Penangite and an owner of a licensed Money Changer at the 'Street of Harmony'.		Trader (traditional trade)
17	A Penangite who works at GTWHI and is a member of congregation of Acheen Street Malay Mosque		WH office staff
18	A representative from GTWHI who has wide experience doing research and working on projects related to George Town's culture and heritage.		WH office staff
19	A Penangite who owns a tour agency and a representative of Penang Tourist Guides Association.		Representative of tourism industry
20	A heritage and conservation specialist who is involved in various heritage and conservation projects at the 'Street of Harmony' and Penang. He is also a member of Technical Review Panel of MBPP.		Cultural and heritage activist/practitioner

21	A Penangite historian, heritage advocate and a high committee of PHT who grew up and lives in George Town. She works on various projects at the 'Street of Harmony' and Penang.		Heritage advocate
22	A Penangite who works closely with the local resident at George Town WHS. He visits the 'Street of Harmony' to attend prayers since her childhood days.		WH office staff
23	Officer from GTWHI who takes care on the physical aspects of George Town WHS and interacts a lot with residents, tenants and building owners.		WH office staff
24	Leader of Indian Muslim community and a committee for the Kapitan Keling mosque. He grew up near the 'Street of Harmony'.		Local resident, community leader
25	A heritage advocate who grew up near the 'Street of Harmony'. He holds various positions in the NGOs and involved in projects concerning culture and heritage in Penang.		Heritage advocate
26	A Penangite tourist guide who lives all her life in the inner city of George Town. She is an active member of George Town Heritage Action (GTHA).		Cultural and heritage activist/practitioner
27	A non-Malaysian who lives in Penang and is concern with the issue on culture and heritage. He is an active member of GTHA.		Cultural and heritage activist
28	Representative for the St. George's church.		Representative of place of worship
29	Officer of Think City Sdn. Bhd. who works on projects which do engagement with local residents at the 'Street of Harmony'.		Community-based organisation staff
30	Resident of the Kapitan Keling mosque waqf land. He is also a staff under the Kapitan Keling mosque.		Local resident, Worker

31	Leader of Indian Muslim community who spend most of his life in the inner city of George Town. He is a member of congregation at the Kapitan Keling mosque.		Community leader
32	Owner of a bakery shop at the 'Street of Harmony'.		Trader
33	Owner of a jewellery shop and a representative of gold jewellers at the 'Street of Harmony'.		Trader (traditional trade)
34	Representative of the Sri Mahamariaman temple.		Representative of place of worship
35	Cultural activist and the owner of a book shop at the 'Street of Harmony'.		Cultural and heritage activist
36	Cultural activist whose work relates to the art festivals and usage of spaces at the George Town WHS.		Cultural and heritage activist
37	A heritage consultant who lives and work in the inner city of George Town for more than 20 years.		Cultural and heritage activist/practitioner
38	A high ranking officer of Think City who lives and grew up at the waqf land of Kapitan Keling Mosque for 40 years.		Local resident, community-based organisation staff
39	Staff of the convenient shop at the 'Street of Harmony' who visits Sri Mahamariamman temple regularly.		Worker
40	A Penangite and representative from Penang State Town and Country Planning.		Local planning authority staff
41	A Penangite artist whose works include on the culture and heritage at the George Town WHS.		Cultural and heritage activist
42	A non-Malaysian who works at a café at the 'Street of Harmony'.		Worker
43	A representative from Tourism Promotion Department of Penang Global Tourism.		Representative of tourism industry
44	Owner of a traditional nasi kandar stall at the 'Street of Harmony'.		Trader (traditional trade)

45	A representative of the Kuan Yin temple.		Representative of place of worship
46	An independent researcher who works on community-based heritage projects and was involved in the preparation of nomination dossier for George Town WHS.		Cultural and heritage activist/practitioner
47	A representative from the Department of National Heritage who is involved with projects at the George Town WHS.		Federal heritage department staff
48	An academic and building conservator who has experienced doing projects in and around the 'Street of Harmony'.		Cultural and heritage activist/practitioner
49	An architect and building conservator has experienced doing heritage and conservation projects at the 'Street of Harmony' and was involved in the preparation of nomination dossier for George Town WHS.		Cultural and heritage activist/practitioner
50	A heritage advocate who is a member of Penang Forum and a member of the Technical Review Panel of MBPP.		Heritage advocate
51	Owner of flower garland stall at the 'Street of Harmony'.		Trader
52	Co-owner of a licensed money changer at the 'Street of Harmony'		Trader (traditional trade)

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